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CORNELIUS AGRIPPA.

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THE LIFE

HENRY CORNELIUS AGRIPPA

FOR AMSTERDAM

Printed by J. Blaeuw

at the Sign of the Star

in the Strand

1651



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THE LIFE

OF

HENRY CORNELIUS AGRIPPA
VON NETTESHEIM,

DOCTOR AND KNIGHT,

Commonly known as a Magician.

BY HENRY MORLEY,

AUTHOR OF "PALISSY THE POTTER," "JEROME CARDAN," &c.



IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

CHAPMAN AND HALL, 193, PICCADILLY.

MDCCCLVI.

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P R E F A C E.

THIS narrative completes a design, upon the execution of which many hours of recreation have been occupied. It was not intended to produce an indefinite series of the Lives of Scholars of the Sixteenth Century, but it was thought possible, by help of the free speech about themselves, common to men of genius in that age, for the lives of three men to be written, in whose histories there might be shown, with a minuteness perhaps not unimportant to the student or uninteresting to the miscellaneous reader, what the life of a scholar was in the time of the revival of learning and the reformation of the Church. These biographies it never was proposed to unite under a common title; each, it was felt, must make or miss its own way in the world. They are, no doubt, the issue of a single purpose, but they are not necessary to each other, and there is no reason why the possessor of one should possess all, or incur the penalty of owning a book marked as a fragment on the title-page or cover.

It may be convenient, however, to some readers, and will be certainly a satisfaction to the writer, briefly to indicate what the intention was that has been carried out as well as power served in the writing of the trilogy of lives now brought to a conclusion. It was desired that of the three lives each should be in itself worth telling, and in itself an addition of some new and well-authenticated matter to the available stores of minute information that give colour and life to history. It was desired that they should treat not of political heroes, but of scholars, living in the same age of the world, although no two of the same country. It was desired, too, that they should be not only representatives of separate nations of Europe, but also of separate and absolutely different careers of study. Palissy was a Frenchman, with the vivacity, taste, and inventive power commonly held to be characteristic of his nation; Cardan was an Italian, with Italian passions; but Agrippa was a contemplative German. According even to the vulgar notion, therefore, they were characteristic men. Palissy was by birth a peasant; Cardan belonged to the middle class; Agrippa was the son of noble parents, born to live a courtier's life. All became scholars. Palissy learnt of God and nature; and however men despised his knowledge, his advance was marvellous upon the unknown paths of truth; he was the first man of his age as a true scholar, though he had heaven and earth only for his books. No heed was paid to the scholarship of Bernard Palissy, but the civilised world rang with the fame of the great Italian physician, who had read and written upon almost every-

thing, Jerome Cardan. Hampered by a misleading scholarship, possessed by the superstitions of his time, bound down by the Church, Cardan, with a natural wit as acute as that of Palissy, became the glory of his day, but of no day succeeding it. The two men are direct opposites, as to their methods and results of study. In a strange place of his own between them stands Agrippa, who began his life by mastering nearly the whole circle of the sciences and arts as far as books described it, and who ended by declaring the Uncertainty and Vanity of Arts and Sciences. The doctrine at which he arrived was that, in brief, fruitful must be the life of a Palissy, barren the life of a Cardan;—since for the world's progress it is needful that men shake off slavery to all scholastic forms, and travel forward with a simple faith in God, inquiring the way freely.

More might be said to show, but it is enough to have suggested, what has been the purpose of these books. A time has come when it is out of the question to suppose that any reasonable student, not directed by some special purpose, can, or ought to, trouble himself with the careful reading of such extinct literature as the works of Cardan or Agrippa. It remains, therefore, that these men, and others like them influential in their time, types of a most important age in the world's history, should as men, though not as names, be forgotten altogether, or remembered only by the aid of any one who will do what is attempted in the book now offered to the reader.

I believe that there is here told for the first time the

exact story of Cornelius Agrippa's life, by the right knowledge of which only it is possible to understand his character. His works include a large pile of old Latin letters, written by him and to him, in every year of his life between the twentieth and almost the last. Under these his pulse still beats; from these, by help of his other works and a sufficient knowledge of the day when they were written, it is possible to gather the whole story of his aspiration, toil, and sorrow. I have endeavoured in this book not only to narrate his life, but also to give a view of the true purport and spirit of his writings. I hope there is no sentence in the narrative for which authority cannot be shown. I know that there is no discoverable incident that has been kept back or altered in significance to suit a theory as to the character portrayed. Before his death, Cornelius Agrippa was the victim of the calumnies of priests, because he denounced their misdoing. They made good use of the fact that he had in his youth written a volume upon Magic; and to this day he has come down to us defiled by their aspersions. In subsequent literature, when he has been mentioned, it has been almost always with contempt or ridicule. He was scarcely in his grave when Rabelais reviled him as Herr Trippa. Butler jests over him in Hudibras, and uses the Church legend of his demon dog:

"Agrippa kept a Stygian pug,
I' th' garb and habit of a dog,
That was his tutor, and the cur
Read to th' occult philosopher,
And taught him subtly to maintain
All other sciences are vain."

While in our own day Southey writes a ballad on another of the monkish tales against him. It is that about the youth who was torn to pieces by the fiends when conjuring in Agrippa's study with one of his books:

"The letters were written with blood therein,
And the leaves were made of dead men's skin."

I wish to show how the man really lived, what the man really wrote, of whom these stories have so long been current.

The woodcut portrait on the title-page to this volume is copied from that issued by Cornelius himself with the first complete edition of his Magic. The inscription round it appears in his collected works. The emblem on the title-page of the second volume is from a contemporary book, the "*Margarita Philosophica*."

London, October, 1856.

It is in this way that the author writes a history of the
of the English race against him. It is that about the
people who was torn to pieces by the English when com-
ing in a ship's crew with one of his boats.

I wish to show how the man really lived, what the
man really wrote of, when that man has so long
been buried.

The wooden portrait of the little man in the volume
furnished them with a model of a man's life with the
the complete history of the man. The inscription
that it is now to his collected works. The author
of the history of the man is now a man.
The first of the man is now a man.

How the man is now a man is now a man.
The man is now a man is now a man.

Consequently the man is now a man is now a man.
But the man is now a man is now a man.

Consequently the man is now a man is now a man.
But the man is now a man is now a man.

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ERRATA.

VOL. I.—P. 24, lines 2, 3, in the *note*, for “in his lifetime” read “soon after his death,” and omit the words “in or about the year 1532.”

———— P. 257, line 1, for “1811” read “1511.”

ERRATA

Vol. I. p. 11. Line 2. "in the year 1817" read "in the year 1818"
"the year 1817" read "the year 1818"
"the year 1817" read "the year 1818"

CORNELIUS AGRIPPA.

CHAPTER I.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS.

AT COLOGNE, on the 14th of September, 1486¹, there was born into the noble house of Nettesheim a son, whom his parents called in baptism Henry Cornelius Agrippa. Some might, at first thought, suppose that the last of the three was a Christian name likely to find especial favour with the people of Cologne, the site of whose town, in days of Roman sovereignty, Marcus Agrippa's camp suggested and the colony of Agrippina fixed. But the existence of any such predilection is disproved by some volumes filled with the names of former natives of Cologne. There were as few Agrippas there as elsewhere, the use of the name being everywhere confined to a few individuals taken from a class that was itself not numerous. A child who came into the world feet-foremost was called

¹ Ep. 26, Lib. vii. Opera (Lugduni, 1536), Tom. ii. p. 1041, where he says to the senators of Cologne: "Sum enim et ego civitate vestra oriundus, et prima pueritia apud vos enutritus."

an Agrippa¹ by the Romans, and I know not what exceptions there may have been to the rule that all persons who received this word as a forename were Agrippas born. Since ancient writers upon medicine and science long ranked as the best teachers of the moderns, the same use of the word Agrippa was retained till many years after the date with which this chapter commences. The Agrippas of the sixteenth century were usually sons of scholars, or of persons in the upper ranks, who had been mindful of a classic precedent; and there can be little doubt that a peculiarity attendant on the very first incident in the life here to be told was expressed by the word used as appendix to an already sufficient Christian name.

The son thus christened became a scholar and a subject of discussion among scholars, talking only Latin to the world. His family name, Von Nettesheim, he never latinised, inasmuch as the best taste suggested that—if a Latin designation was most proper for a scholar—he

¹ The word itself was invented to express the idea, being compounded of the trouble of the woman and the feet of the child. So Aulus Gellius explains it (*Noct. Attic. Lib. xvi. cap. 16*): “Quorum in nascendo non caput, sed pedes primi exstiterant (qui partus difficillimus ægerrimusque habetur); AGRIPPÆ appellati, vocabulo ab ægritudine et pedibus conficto.” The following passage from a medical writer who was of authority in the year 1700, shows that the original use of the word was not then obsolete: “Causa est periculosissima, quando pedibus primò prodit infans, ita ut etiam manus deorsum versus inclinent: nam sic fit, ut egresso tempore orificium uteri internum circa collum iterum se stringat, ita ut fœtus extra uterum, caput autem ejus adhuc in utero hæreat, et reddat partum difficilem. Tales fœtus dicuntur AGRIPPÆ.” Michaelis Ettmulleri *Collegium Practicum Doctrinale*, sect. vii. cap. i. art. 2. Op. (Frankfort-on-M. 1708), Tom. ii. pars 1, p. 1015.

could do, or others could do for him, nothing simpler than to set apart for literary purposes that half of his real style which was already completely Roman. Henry Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim became therefore to the world what he is also called in the succeeding narrative—Cornelius Agrippa.

This is the only member of the family of Nettesheim concerning whom any records have been left for the instruction of posterity. Nettesheim, or Nettersheim, itself is a place of little note, distant about twenty-five miles to the south-west of Cologne, and at about the same distance to the south-east of Aix-la-Chapelle—that is to say, in the direction of the Eiffelberg. It lies in a valley, through which flows the stream from one of the small sources of the Roer. The home of the Von Nettesheims, when they were not personally attached to the service of the emperor, was at Cologne, where many nobles lived on terms not altogether friendly with the merchants and the traders of the place. The ancestors of Cornelius Agrippa had been for generations in the service of the house of Austria; his father had in this respect walked in the steps of his forefathers, and from a child Cornelius looked for nothing better than to do the same¹.

Born in Cologne did not mean then what it has meant

¹ "Et pater et avi et atavi et tritavi Cæsarum Romanorum Austria-corumque Principum a longo ævo ministri fuerunt. Horum vestigia et ego insecutus, Divo Maximiliano Cæsari et pace et bello non segniter inservavi." Ep. 18, Lib. vi. (Op. Tom. ii. p. 971). Elsewhere, after a fuller recital, he speaks of himself as "D. Maximiliano Cæsari a prima ætate destinatus." Ep. 21, Lib. vii.

for many generations almost until now, born into the darkness of a mouldering receptacle of relics. Then the town was not priest-ridden, but rode its priests. For nearly a thousand years priestcraft and handicraft have battled for predominance within its walls. Priestcraft expelled the Jews, banished the weavers, and gained thoroughly the mastery at last. But in the time of Cornelius Agrippa handicraft was uppermost, and in sacred Cologne every trader and mechanic did his part in keeping watch on the archbishop. Europe contained then few cities larger, busier, and richer, for the Rhine was a main highway of commerce, and Cologne—great enough to be called the daughter of the Roman Empire—was enriched, not only by her manufacturers and merchants, but, at the same time also, by a large receipt of toll.

The temporal government of this city had been placed in the hands of churchmen from a very early time¹. In the year 953 the rule over the town of bishops, subject to imperial control, began with Archbishop Bruno², brother to Otto the First and Duke of Lorraine. To the imperial brother of this archbishop, Cologne was indebted

¹ A local handbook—*Köln und Bonn mit ihren Umgebungen*, Köln, 1828—compiled from the best authorities accessible to a scholar on the spot, contains a good historical sketch of the relations between Cologne and its archbishop, drawing for information on a public report against the independence of the city, addressed to the Kurfürst, and published at Bonn in 1687 with the title *Securis ad radicem posita, oder gründlicher Bericht, loco libelli, worin der Stadt Cölln Ursprung und Erbauung klärlich dargestellt ist*, &c. The document itself I have not seen.

² *Bibliotheca Coloniensis*. Josephi Hartzheim, fol. Colon. 1747, p. 40, for his eulogy; but the little handbook just mentioned draws the spirit of his life from a work printed in 1494, entitled *Chronica von der hilligen Stat van Coellen*.

for various immunities and privileges; but the chief efforts of Bruno and his successors had in view the extension of their personal authority. They succeeded so well in the attainment of this object, that, after the tenth century, they had absolute rank as masters of the town. Their subjects were even at that time noted for prosperity as merchants; educated among the luxuries of city life, they were without experience in the affairs of war, "about which they discoursed over their banquets and their wine when the day's trade was over¹."

It was one of the archbishops, Philip von Heinsberg, who, towards the close of the twelfth century, enclosed the city and a part of the adjacent country within walls. Very few years before that time the citizens had made a weak attempt at the establishment of an independent representative constitution, by which their archbishop was to be shut out from interference in affairs that did not concern his spiritual office. Commerce is the most powerful antagonist to despotism, and in whatever place both are brought together one of them must die. Cologne, in the middle ages, had become a great commercial port. Its weights and measures were used throughout Europe². By the Rhine, one of the two great European highways, there was conveyed that main part

¹ "Colonienses ab ineunte ætate inter urbanas delicias educati, nullam in bellicis rebus experientiam habebant, quidquid post venditas merces inter vinum et epulas de re militari disputari solitas." Lambert von Aschaffenburg in Pistorius (*Rerum Germanicarum Veteres jam primum publicati Scriptores*, Frankfort, 1607).

² Fischer's *Geschichte des deutschen Handels*, vol. ii. p. 235.

of the traffic between east and west which passed through Venice to the Netherlands. At Cologne all merchandise that passed paid toll both to the town and the right reverend lord of the town; and it not only paid a direct toll, but had to be transhipped into vessels owned by the local merchants, who thus were enriched by the monopoly which made them masters of the Rhine. While prosperity was secured in this manner to its merchants, the manufacturers and traders of Cologne took excellent advantage of the opportunities for commerce offered them by the position of their town. They began early to form strong guilds, and with trade and commerce the arts flourished¹. Except Nuremberg, there is no city in Germany able to show a series of works of art, dating from the earliest times to the sixteenth century, so perfect as that which may still be studied here. The goldsmiths and painters of the place had an extended reputation. In the "Parcival" of Wolfram von Eschenbach, written before 1215, the Cologne painters are referred to as notorious for their great skill²; and the Cologne builders were in even more renown. It is proper, also, to mention in the narrative that among the scholars of Germany one, who before the time of Cornelius Agrippa was known as

¹ F. C. J. Fischer's *Geschichte des deutschen Handels*, 8vo, Hanover, 1793, vol. i. pp. 945-947.

² Praising a knight's great beauty, he says—

"Von Cöllen noch von Mastricht
Nicht ein Schildrer entwarf ihn bass"—

the conception of a painter from Cologne or Maestricht being assumed as an ideal of beauty by this poet, who was the greatest of the Minnesingers.

the most famous of magicians, belonged to the same city; for there, in the thirteenth century, Albertus Magnus taught, and it is there that he was buried.

Prosperous Cologne, then, did not submit humbly to episcopal direction. A shrewd and active archbishop, Conrad von Hochstetten¹—the same who, in 1248, laid the foundations of the cathedral—secured to the town fresh privileges from the emperor; but was at more trouble to secure his own supremacy among the townspeople. He began the attempt to do so, like a wise churchman, by promoting strife between the resident nobles and the citizens, but soon found himself driven to the necessity of putting armour on, and leading troops against his stubborn flock. At the last he triumphed only by effecting an alliance with the tradesmen, and subduing with their aid the power of the nobles. Conrad died master of the town; but his nephew and successor, Engelbert, who vigorously carried on his policy, was involved soon in another outbreak of the civil war, for three of the leading nobles had been kept in prison, and their companions in arms engaged in a new struggle to wipe out their disgrace. Finally they got possession, not of the town only, but also of the person of the archbishop, whom they imprisoned for three years in the castle of Nydeck, and occasionally hung out in an iron cage for public mockery².

Peace was soon afterwards established in the town, but not on a sure basis. The increased influence of the trades

¹ Fischer's *Geschichte des deutschen Handels*, vol. ii. p. 235.

² Pistorius, *Rer. Germ. Vet. Script.* (Frankf. 1607), pp. 260, 261.

caused the establishment of a new system of corporate government in the year 1321; but the representatives were chosen from the noble families. Not quite thirty years later there was a devilish persecution of the Jews in many parts of Europe; and the Jews of Cologne, alarmed by the sufferings to which others of their race had been exposed, withdrew into their houses, with their wives and children, and burnt themselves in the midst of their possessions. The few who had flinched from this self-immolation were banished, and their houses and lands, together with all the land that had belonged to Cologne Jews, remained as spoils in the hands of the Cologne Christians. All having been converted into cash, the gains of the transaction were divided equally between the town and the archbishop. Twenty years later, Jews were again suffered to reside in the place, on payment of a tax for the protection granted them.

In 1369 the city was again in turmoil, caused by a dispute concerning privileges between the church authorities and the town council. The weavers took occasion to express their views very strongly as the maintainers of a democratic party, and there was once more fighting in the streets. The weavers were subdued; they fled to the churches, and were slain at the altars. Eighteen hundred of them, all who survived, were banished, suffering, of course, confiscation of their property, and Cologne being cleared of all its weavers—who had carried on no inconsiderable branch of local manufacture—their guild was

demolished¹. This event occurred twenty years after the town had lost, in the Jews, another important part of its industrial population, and the proud city thus was passing into the first stage of its decay.

In 1388 an university was established at Cologne, upon the model of the University of Paris. Theology and scholastic philosophy were the chief studies cultivated in it, and they were taught in such a way as to win many scholars from abroad². Eight years afterwards, churchmen, nobles, and traders were again contesting their respective claims, and blood was again shed in the streets. The nobles, assembled by night at a secret meeting, were surprised, and the final conquest of the trading class was in that way assured. Again, therefore, a new constitution was devised; and this was the constitution that continued still to be in force during the lifetime of Cornelius Agrippa. At the head of the temporal government were six burgomasters, acting in pairs, who formed three double mayors, ruling in rotation, and retiring upon the presidency of the exchequer at the conclusion of their term of office. The citizens were classed into two-and-twenty liveries, electing thirty-six councilmen, who added to their body thirteen aldermen to preside over the several judicial courts—the petty criminal court, court of appeal, &c. Each livery placed also at its head a deputy—the banner-master—and the banner-masters acted for the

¹ *Geschichte des Ursprungs der Stände in Deutschland.* Von Karl Dietrich Ullman. Frankf. an der Oder, 1806-8. B. 3, pp. 140-149.

² See Hartzheim.

citizens as their immediate representatives in all important deliberations¹. I have expressed the idea of this constitution by the use of such English terms as are most nearly indicative of the various offices appointed; and the facility with which this can be done shows that Cologne achieved for itself a municipal government of a tolerably perfect kind. Jurisdiction in the high criminal court, and the power over capital conviction, remained with the archbishop, whose court was to be composed wholly of nobles born within the city. Having achieved so much, the townspeople proceeded by their representatives to the formation of a body of statutes and the complete defining of their own judicial system; and accordingly, in 1437, town and archbishop having mutually consented to the scheme perfected in this way, it was confirmed to them as an addition to their privileges by the Emperor Frederic. By this arrangement the archbishop owned himself mastered, for he consented to hold two palaces in Cologne, with the condition that, when he entered the town, he was to bring with him only a small suite, and that he was to remain within the city walls not longer than for three days at a time. Cologne was confirmed in its independence of all external authority, except that of the emperor, and the inhabitants agreed to swear fidelity to their archbishop on condition of his swearing fidelity to them. The decay of the place was thus arrested, and for a hundred

¹ This account, and much else, I take from the little handbook *Köln und Bonn*, the author of which here founds his narrative on the contemporary chronicle of Gottfried Hagene, published in Brewer's *Vaterländischer Chronik* for 1825.

years, under archbishops of the house of Meurs, this adjustment of the old dispute remained in force. Such was the position of affairs in Cologne during the lifetime of Cornelius Agrippa. I am convinced that the spirit either of a place or person is expressed less truly by elaborate description than even by the very simplest biographic sketch. It is for this reason that I have told in as few words as possible the previous life of a town which is to be the central point of interest, so far as concerns places, in the present narrative.

In size and general appearance, Cologne at the beginning of the sixteenth century differed not much from the Cologne of our own day. The place had reached the highest point of its prosperity during the lifetime of Cornelius Agrippa. The great changes wrought by the discovery of the New World and of a sea-road to India, by the revolution in the art of war, and by the revival of letters, soon made the daughter of the Empire almost obsolete as a commercial port, a fortress, or a seat of learning. The destruction of her commerce had already been hastened by an increased greediness for taxes levied upon merchandise. Then, as the trade of the town declined, the spirit that had beaten down the worldly despotism of the Church departed with it, and the archbishops trampled out in their own way what little life was left. There are signs now of a revival, but ten years since the city lay dead on the Rhine, retaining perfectly the shape of the great mart through which the traffic of half Europe passed three centuries ago. Nearly as large as it now is it was then.

Now, it is of no mean size in comparison with the great seats of commerce which have grown while it has mouldered. Then, when a scanty population yielded hamlets inhabited by dozens, provincial towns by hundreds, capitals by but a few thousands, Cologne, issuing her own coinage, and a foremost member of the Hanseatic League, was indeed not unworthy to be flattered by successive sovereigns of Germany, and favoured as the daughter of their empire.

In this city Cornelius Agrippa was born, as it has been said, of a family belonging to the noble class. His parents at his birth were probably not very far advanced in life, at any rate they continued to reside in Cologne, and to maintain a home which he occasionally visited for some time after he had himself reached years of discretion¹. The Von Nettesheims, as nobles of Cologne, were likely in those days to be on more cordial terms with the archbishop than with the burghers, and they were engaged directly in the service of the emperor. In both respects the life of Cornelius was influenced by his position, and it may not be considered fanciful to suppose that the character of the town, as it has been here briefly suggested, acted in more than a slight degree upon his own character in childhood and after life. In his first years, and to the very last, he had a rare aptitude for study, and was distinguished for his power of retaining knowledge once acquired. Cologne being an university town, he had but

¹ "Sed quoties reversus sum in vestram urbem, meam autem patriam vix inveni qui me diceret Ave." Ep. 26, Lib. vii. p. 1041.

to acquire the studies of the place, and these may have sufficed in determining his bias for scholastic theology. He was born soon after the discovery of printing, and the use made in Cologne of that discovery shows well enough what was the humour of the students there. The first Cologne printer was Ulrich Zell, who began his labours in or about the year 1463. Between that year and the year 1500, the annals of typography¹ contain the titles of as many as five hundred and thirty books, issued by him and by other printers in the town, but among these there are to be found only fourteen Latin classics, and there is not one volume of Greek. The other works consisted wholly of the writings of ascetics, scholastics, canonists, &c., including the works of Thomas Aquinas, and of Albertus Magnus. Of this sort were the springs at which as a boy Cornelius Agrippa was compelled to slake his thirst for knowledge. Among writers of this description it was only natural that he should find the eager fancy of youth satisfied best with the wonderful things written by the magicians, and accordingly he states that at a very early age he was possessed with a curiosity concerning mysteries².

But there were successful studies of another kind for which also Cornelius was remarkable in youth. He

¹ *Annales Typographici ab artis inventæ origine ad annum MD., post Maittairii Denisii aliorumque curas.* Opera Georgii Wolfg. Sanzer (Norimb. 1793), Tom. i. pp. 274-348.

² "... Qui ab ineunte ætate semper circa mirabilium effectuum et plenas mysteriorum operationes curiosus intrepidusque extiti explorator." Ep. 23, Lib. i. Op. Tom. ii. p. 703.

became versed in many European languages, and it is most probable, that while the position of Cologne as a halting-place on one of the great highways of European traffic must have caused the gift of tongues to be appreciated by its merchants, the unusual opportunities there offered for its acquisition surely would not be neglected in a family like that of Nettesheim, which sought to rise by the performance of good service to an emperor whose daily business, now war and now diplomacy, was being carried on in many lands.

After some years of home-training, subject to the influences here discussed, the age arrived at which youths destined to serve princes were considered fit to be produced at court. Cornelius Agrippa was then taken from beneath the friendly shade of the Archbishop of Cologne, to bask in light as an attendant on the Emperor of Germany.

CHAPTER II.

TREATS OF A BAND OF YOUNG CONSPIRATORS.

CORNELIUS AGRIPPA served the Emperor of Germany at first as a secretary, afterwards for seven years as a soldier¹. The distinct statement of this fact, and the impossibility of otherwise accounting for the time, compels us to interpret strictly the accompanying assertion that he entered, while still very young, into the imperial service. If it were not so, we might suppose that at the age of nineteen he was perfecting his studies at the University of Paris, and that the wild scheming, presently to be described, naturally arose there out of the enthusiasm of youth in the hot blood of a few students. It would in that case have to be said that after leaving Paris he first entered the service of a court, by which his designs were countenanced as leading to a chivalrous adventure, from which some political advantage might, perchance, arise, and no great harm could follow.

The master of the young diplomatist was Maximilian the

¹ "Maximiliano a prima ætate destinatus aliquandiu illi a minoribus secretis fui, deinde in Italicis castris septennio illius stipendio militavi." Ep. 21, Lib. vii. Op. Tom. ii. p. 1021.

First, a prince at whose court chivalry was much in favour, and from whom bold enterprises had at all times ready praise. As emperor it had not seemed to him beneath his dignity to fight a duel¹ in the presence of his lords, and to give evidence therein of prowess that was said by his courtiers to be stupendous. A daring man at arms undoubtedly he was, but he was more than that. There were fine qualities in Maximilian that must have given him strong hold upon the minds of the young men under his influence. Late in development, he was nine years of age before he could speak clearly, and when he was twelve his father thought it possible that he would die a fool. When, however, the time came for his mind to ripen, it had a distinct flavour of its own. He had been ill taught in his youth by Peter, Bishop of Neustadt, a pedant, who worried him with dialectics; and, forasmuch as he did not take to them with a good grace, beat him sorely. "Ah," said Maximilian, at dinner, one day, after he had been crowned King of Rome (this happened in the birth-year of Cornelius Agrippa), "if Bishop Peter were alive to-day, though we owe much to good teachers, he should have cause to repent that he had ever been my master." But in spite of all bad teaching, Maximilian contrived to educate himself into the power of conversing fluently and accurately in Italian, French, and Latin, as well as in his native German; and while he readily confessed himself to have been ill brought up, he valued

¹ The duel was with Claude de Batre, and the prowess, says Cuspinian, "conspectu stupendum."

learning, and was liberal to men of letters. He caused search to be made for genealogies and local annals; he took pleasure in entertaining questions of philosophy and science, even himself conducting some experiments. The master of the young Agrippa was also, according to the humour of his time, a sharp arguer upon nice questions in theology. In his latter years he was glad often to discuss privately with learned men, and acquire knowledge from them. It may even be said that he was, himself, a member of the literary body. He professed to despise poetry, yet it was he who wrote in verse the allegorical, “Dewrdank,” wherein he represented himself as having overcome envy and curiosity. He wrote also “The Gate of Honour,” to induce all learned men in Germany to preserve ancient chronicles from loss. He founded on his own story the narrative of “The White King,” illustrated with honourable reference to, and pictures of, almost every trade followed by his subjects; and finally, some of the finest woodcuts ever executed were designed from his dictation, to represent his ideal of a triumph¹, which should sweep before the eyes of all posterity upon a pictured page, and celebrate the glories of his reign. “His bent,” says his secretary, Cuspinian, “was to scholarship, but, having been ill taught, he chose war for his profession².”

It is absolutely certain that the young son of the house

¹ *Kaiser Maximilian's Triumph.*

² The sketch of Maximilian in this chapter is chiefly founded upon details given in Joanni Cuspiniani *de Cæsaribus atque] Imperatoribus Romanis* (Basle, 1561), pp. 602-615.

of Nettesheim, who being a scholar by taste began service to his imperial master as a secretary, who was curious about the mysteries of nature, relished keenly all the nice points of theology, was versed in languages, and as ambitious as the emperor himself, was not a youth whom Maximilian would overlook. Already disposed to smile upon a new retainer who was noticeable among courtiers for the extent of his attainments and his assiduity in study, the emperor would quickly have discovered that the young Cornelius Agrippa had a spirit not bound wholly to books, but that he could enter heartily into his master's relish for bold feats of arms.

There are men to whom it is natural from childhood upwards to assume the tone of a leader, and in whom the excess of self-reliance represents the grain of an otherwise amiable character. It is so subtly combined with everything they say or do as to appear but rarely in the offensive form of violent or obvious self-assertion; it is not displayed by them, but it is felt by others in whom the same element of character is more weakly developed. They are not by any means necessarily great or able men who go through the world as centres of their great or little circles with this spirit in them, but it must be a very great man indeed who can keep any one of them within the circumference of a circle whereof he is not the centre. Cornelius Agrippa had a disposition of this kind, and as a youth, it might be said, there was some reason for his self-reliance, since, if not by his rare abilities, yet by his advantageous position near the emperor, and his

activity of character, there seemed to be assured to him an enviable future. And yet clouds gather about the face of many a day that gives the brightest promise in its morning.

In Cornelius Agrippa the emperor his master appears to have seen nothing but promise. The quick perceptions of the learned youth, his acquaintance with foreign languages, his daring and his self-reliance, were no doubt the qualities by which he was commended most to Maximilian's attention, and there was no time lost in making use of them. Cornelius, even at the age of twenty, was employed on secret service by the German court, and the very enthusiasm of his character, and of his period of life, seems to have been reckoned upon as the edge proper to such a tool as the state made of him.

The relation in which the young Von Nettesheim stood to the emperor, and the character of the influence that may have been exerted on him in the court of Austria, will be sufficiently indicated by adding to what has been already said the little sketch of Maximilian's character and habits left by Cuspinian, his confidential secretary. Though not a perfect picture of the emperor, it shows him, as we now desire to see him, from a secretary's point of view.

It is well known that Maximilian was a prince in difficulties very often, that the imperial exchequer was more apt to weigh as a load upon his mind than upon his pocket, yet, says Cuspinian, he never allowed to be touched the gold, silver, and hereditary jewels left him by

his ancestors, for they were the inheritance due to his heirs. Ferdinand, after his father's death, was amazed when he saw what was in the treasury. Maximilian was a square-built man, with good health, capable of enduring heavy labour; he wrote sometimes far into the night, broke a lance often in jest with his princes, or in earnest with his foes. He was frugal in his repasts, "and so clean" (for emperors then ate meat with their fingers) "that nobody could see him dining or supping without pleasure." He drank little between meals, and at table drank only three times. He was of good morals, but loved to dine or dance in company with honest ladies, not behaving to them as proud princes do, but accosting them with modest reverence. He had a singular love of music, "and," says his indignant secretary, "musical professors, instruments, &c., sprang up at his court like mushrooms after a shower. I would write a list of the musicians I have known if I were not afraid of the size of the work. He revived the art of war, introduced new machines, and was the only general of his time. Some say that he was too fond of hunting, by which he was taken into great danger while following the wild goat up the highest rocks. He spent largely on dogs, hunters, and huntsmen; but that," Cuspinian adds, "is royal sport. Kings cannot walk in squares and streets (as common people do, who sharpen for themselves their hunger by that exercise), but must follow the chase of wild beasts to improve their bodies. This emperor was affable in his manners, he set at their ease those people who conversed with him, and as he had

a good memory, pleased them by showing knowledge of their names and their affairs. He did not mind asking mean persons for their opinion on mighty things." He was likely, therefore, to flatter greatly, by his show of confidence and frankness, a young scribe whose temper and abilities he meant to turn to some account. Once, when there was a conspiracy against him in his camp, he went into the tent of the chief conspirator, and sat down cheerfully to dinner with his wife. Many enemies he subdued by kindly speech, and sometimes (hints the secretary) paid his soldiers' wages with it. He turned no ear at all to slander, and bade Cuspinian cease from addressing him with words of flattery, reminding him of the proverb, "Self-praise makes a stinking mouth."

Such a man as this was master to Cornelius Agrippa ; surely an Austrian diplomatist as well as a brave soldier and not unenlightened prince. Even his secretary and admirer, when he tells of the match-making feats by which Maximilian laboured to extend the influence of his own family, talks half-contemptuously of "the marrying house of Austria." With all his chivalry and all his mother's southern blood (she was a Portuguese), Maximilian was an Austrian born, son of an Austrian father. The diplomatic service of the Austrian court, at every period of history, has been what it is now and ever will be, slippery and mean. It may spend the energies of a fine mind upon base labour ; delude, when necessary, its own agents into the belief that they do brave deeds and speak true words, though they are working out designs

contrived upon no honourable principle. In this way some use may have been made of the fresh spirit of the youth, whom we are now to find, at the age of twenty, with the cares of a conspirator upon him.

It is not at all possible that this conspiracy, of which the precise nature can only be inferred from overt acts, distinctly originated at the court of Maximilian, although it was fostered there. It related to the affairs of Spain, and the political events of the time appear to throw some doubtful light upon its meaning. Ferdinand of Spain, the widower of Isabella, was excluded from the crown of Castile after his wife's death, that inheritance having passed with his daughter Joanna as a dower to her husband Philip, one of the marrying house of Austria, the son of Maximilian. Ferdinand had made a vain effort to retain some hold upon his authority over the Castilians; but he was repelled by them, and referred to his own kingdoms of Aragon and Naples. Suddenly, in September, 1506, news of the death of Philip startled European politicians. He was a young man of eight-and-twenty, upon whose death no person had yet begun to speculate; over-exertion in a game of ball, at an entertainment given by his favourite Don Manuel, led, it is said, to this unexpected issue. A wide field was at once opened for Austrian diplomacy. Those nobles of Castile who had most actively opposed the claims of Ferdinand against his son-in-law, partly in self-defence, maintained their opposition. Ferdinand, when the event happened, was not in Spain; he was engaged upon a journey to his

Neapolitan dominions. The country, therefore, fell into confusion, for the widowed queen Joanna, overwhelmed with an insane grief, refused to perform any act of government; and Maximilian of Austria had lost no time in urging strongly upon Ferdinand his own right to be regent of Castile. From the distracted country several Spanish nobles came to Maximilian's court, Manuel himself among the rest, where they continually urged upon the Austrian more measures against Ferdinand than he considered it worth while to take.

It appears to have been during this period of excitement and political uncertainty that Cornelius von Nettesheim, then twenty years of age, was sent to Paris, perhaps in company with a superior diplomatist, but probably alone. His unusual power as a linguist¹—his learning, which was of an extent far beyond his years—the quickness of his parts, which in some sense was as valuable as an older man's experience—marked him out subsequently, while he was still very young, as a fit agent to be sent abroad on confidential missions². France had been hostile to the son of Maximilian, and war against France had been declared by Philip only a short time before his death. The business of Cornelius at Paris was, I think,

¹ "Il savait parler huit sortes de langues, &c. &c. &c., d'où je ne m'étonne que Paule Jove l'appelle Portentosum Ingenium, que Jacques Gohory le met inter clarissima sui sæculi lumina, que Ludwigius le nomme Venerandum Dom. Agrippam, literarum, literatorumque omnium miraculum." *Apologie pour tous les Grands Personnages qui ont esté faussement soupçonnez de Magie*. Par G. Naudé, Paris. La Haye, 1653, pp. 406, 407.

² *Defensio Propositionum de Beat. Annæ Monogamia*. Op. Tom. ii. p. 596.

simply in accordance with his duty as a clever scribe, to take trustworthy note of what he saw and heard. A political crisis had occurred, affecting intimately the interests of Maximilian, and the relations of the emperor with France were thereby placed in a most difficult position. While doing whatever else was needful, Maximilian may, very likely, have considered it worth while to send to the French capital one of the young men belonging to his court, who could for a short time take a quiet post of observation as a scholar in the University, and make himself the master of more knowledge than would be communicated to him in the schools. Foremost among young pundits was Cornelius von Nettesheim, a person apt in every respect for such a purpose. He might go to his own home in Cologne, and proceed thence, as a studious youth, to Paris. After a short residence there, it was, indeed, in the first instance, to his father's house that he returned¹.

Cornelius was engaged on secret service more than once; but all his 'great or little diplomatic secrets were well kept, though on his own affairs he was, in his pub-

¹ Ep. 2, Lib. i. p. 682. The letters of Agrippa are in the second volume of the Lyons edition of his works, already referred to, and published in his lifetime "per Beringos Fratres," in and about the year 1532. It was printed and reprinted by them, probably often, certainly once. My own copy is undated, and shows, by comparison with that in the British Museum, that although precisely alike both as to general appearance and as to paging, and issued about the same time by the same printer, the whole of the type must have been distributed and set up afresh in the interval between the issue of one book and of the other. The second volume of this issue is the book of which the page is given in all notes referring to Agrippa's letters.

lished works, abundantly communicative. It is left for us, then, to construct what theory we can upon his business at this period in Paris. We know only that he was there at the time described, and that he made himself while there the centre of a knot of students, members with him, as it will afterwards be seen, of a secret association of theosophists, and bent upon a wild and daring enterprise that was in several respects very characteristic both of the age of the schemers, and of the age of the world in which they lived to scheme.

The disturbances in Castile had extended to Aragon and Catalonia. The Catalonians, since their annexation to the crown of Aragon, had frequently caused trouble by their independent spirit, had established one successful revolt, and were at this period violently excited in many places against the oppression of the nobles. From the district of Tarragon they had chased at least one of their local masters, the Señor de Gerona; and this gentleman, while holding from King Ferdinand the authority which he appears to have abused, must have had something of the traitor in his composition, for we find him among other Spaniards at the court of Maximilian, by whom the interests of Ferdinand were at this time especially opposed¹.

At Paris, Cornelius met with the young Spaniard, who, perhaps, was then upon his way to Germany; and by the conversation of Juanetin de Gerona², the bold spirit of

¹ Ep. 4, Lib. i. p. 683.

² Ianotus Bascus de Charona is the Latin form.

enterprise was stirred within him. In concert with some other students he devised a plan, not merely for the restoration of Juanetin to his own domain—itsself a student's freak of tolerable magnitude,—but for the achievement, by a stroke of wit, of some more serious adventure, which seems to have included the mastering of Tarragon¹ itself, and the maintenance of that stronghold against the people of the district. Upon the information of the Señor de Gerona, Cornelius Agrippa based his plans; the Spaniard had doubtless contributed to the plot suggestions of advantage that might be secured to Maximilian by the enterprise. In the emperor's discussion with King Ferdinand he was to be helped in some wild way by the young soldier-scribe against the Catalonians. It is certain that Cornelius Agrippa had in view nothing more than the advantage of his master, except the renown that was to follow from the magnitude of his success, if he succeeded². While the idea was fresh with him he must have made its purport known to a friend at court, whom he calls Galbianus, who most strongly urged him to pursue it, and partook of his enthusiasm³.

After a few months, early in 1507, Cornelius went from Paris to his own home at Cologne, his absence from the University being considered only temporary⁴. The chief friend whom he left behind, as faithful lieutenant, to com-

¹ The Latin form used by Agrippa is Arcona.

² "Neque diffido me clarissimo hoc facinore immortalem gloriam nobis paraturum." Ep. 4, Lib. i. p. 683.

³ "Qui in hunc labyrinthum mihi dux fuisti." *Loc. cit.*

⁴ Ep. 1 and 2, Lib. i.

plete the necessary preparations, was an Italian, who studied medicine in Paris, Blasius Cæsar Landulphus. He lived to be a professor in the University of Pavia¹, and wrote upon "The Cures of Fevers," with some other matter, a book published at Venice in 1521, and republished at Basle in 1535, with again other matter added to it.

We find him with a fever of his own still to be cured, a man ripe for excitement, who has hitherto, as he says, been leading an unsettled life, writing from Paris, on the 26th of March, to his accepted chieftain at Cologne, that he can send no pleasanter tidings than news of the success of their business, so often desired. He writes in a tone of strong affection for Cornelius; and hints at a wish also, now and then expressed between them, that after all the accidents of fortune he had suffered, Providence might find him business near his friend in Germany: "For you know that I plant a foot not altogether fearless on the soil of Paris, though I have repelled with a divine shield the various bites and blows of serpents, and the greedy wolves who were armed against me seem only to have heaped coals on their own heads. Take these matters in brief: I would have written more at large, my sweetest Agrippa, of what is in my mind, and of the course of my life and business in hand, but those things, on account of the danger of our present letters and considering the time, I put aside. Do you hasten your return as much as you can²."

¹ Jöcher's *Gelehrten Lexicon*. Theil 2, p. 2242 (ed. Leipzig, 1750).

² Ep. 1, Lib. i. p. 681.

The tone of this letter shows how strong an ascendancy Cornelius Agrippa had established over its writer; it was the ascendancy undoubtedly of friend over friend, but the young diplomatist seems also to have strengthened his position with suggestions of a means of settlement in life that might perhaps be discovered for Landulph in Germany. A month after the receipt of his friend's letter, addressed to him at Cologne, Cornelius thus answered it¹:

“Your letter written on the twenty-sixth of March, my most faithful Landulph, I received joyfully on the twentieth of May. It grieves me much to have been so long absent from you, and to miss the enjoyment of your most faithful companionship; but I do not in absence follow you with the less care, or yield to any one in love for you: so that I am capable of neglecting nothing that concerns the defending and amplifying of your honour, or the augmentation of your worldly welfare. Day and night solicitous on your account, I now again vehemently and faithfully warn you to leave your present place of residence, and to leave straightway; for the time is near when you will either be glad that you left or sorry that you stayed. Take these matters in brief: for I cannot safely venture to commit to this letter all that I should wish you to know. I am glad, however, that you have lately overcome the wiles of so many serpents, so many Lycaons. Yet it is safer to fly from such animals than vanquish them, for even when dead they are hurtful, and retain the poison with which often they undo their victors.

¹ Ep. 2, Lib. i. p. 682.

My happy position in life is matter of mutual satisfaction to us, for whatever good fortune may have befallen me is common to you also, since our friendship is of a kind that suffers nothing to be proper to one of us only. I await here the commission and command of a certain great Jove, with whom I shall some day have it in my power to be not a little useful to you. I am living here, and am to return again to France, where I shall see you. Meantime salute in my name Messieurs Germain, Gaigny, and Charles Foucard, M. de Molin flor, and Juanetin Bascara, Señor de Gerona. The happiest farewell to you. From Cologne, the twentieth of May, 1507."

Of the friends here saluted, Germain¹ was a spirited law student, who became afterwards an advocate at Forcalquier, in Provence. He published, nine-and-twenty years after this date, the "Very brief History of Charles V., ejected and paid out by the peasants of Provence," and wrote also a macaronic satire. Gaigny², or Gagnée, was a Parisian born, afterwards known as a good theologian and linguist, as well as a tolerable Latin poet. Nineteen years subsequent to this date he became procurator for France in his native University, five years later its rector, and fifteen years later still—thirty-nine years after the present date—its chancellor, which office he held till he died—three years after his election. He also, it seems, had indulged in wild schemes in his youth, though he lived to be known chiefly as a scholiast on the New Testament, and was made

¹ Jöcher's *Gelehrten Lexicon* in Adelung's *Fortsetzung* (Leipzig, 1787). Theil 2.

² Jöcher. Theil 2, p. 826.

first almoner to the king Francis I. The last person named in the list, Juanetin Bascara de Gerona, was the young Catalonian nobleman of whom we have already spoken. Landulph speaks again¹:

“The letter that you wrote me on the twentieth of May, Henry Cornelius, ever to be most regarded by me, I received right joyfully, and read on the sixteenth of June: for which I can scarcely thank you enough, especially for that part wherein you faithfully and vehemently exhort me that I shall be glad to have left my first residence, or led to penitence for still abiding there. Certainly, with a warning of that kind, I hold you to have prophesied by some divine oracle according to the aim of my own intention, which during a long course of days I have been whispering to myself quietly. I will expect your return, upon which we will, as it was formerly resolved between us, visit Spain, and finally seek my native Italy. For should the eagle chance to fly across the Alps, I hope that we may count for something there among the other birds. M. Molinfor salutes you. Juanetin has been absent for some months, and is not yet returned. Farewell. From the University of Paris. In the year 1507, on the day above mentioned.”

Landulph, therefore, who had nothing to wait for but the coming of Agrippa, answered his friend's letter instantly. The absence of Juanetin referred, no doubt, to the business in hand. We hear of him next at the court of Maximilian.

¹ Ep. 3, Lib. i. p. 682.

Nine months have elapsed ; perhaps Cornelius has half-repented of his plan, some of the motives to it may be failing, when suddenly we find his credit with his court staked on success. The matter has been talked about, and he is forced on the adventure. On the road to it he writes thus to a comrade still at court¹:

“ You see, my Galbianus, how dangerous it is to make any rash boasts before those youths of the palace, who blab whatever they hear to their princes and kings, and hunt up for them pleasure in our perils. But they, as soon as they have begun to believe anything of our mysteries, desire us speedily to bring them to the proof by deeds; and they make their demand upon us with entreaties that blend hard and soft together, so that we may easily understand how those services which are not obtained from us by high words will be compelled by force and violence. I own that thus far this our fortune is *superne mulier formosa*; but who can discern her tail? We quaff honey so mixed with gall that we are unable to judge whether it be sweet or bitter. I own that thus far promises are great, and there are great rewards proposed: but against these are to be set threats and dangers. Have I not warned you from the beginning not to lead us into any labyrinth from which we could not escape at our own pleasure? You, nevertheless, wish to talk big, an orator more bold than prudent; and the Señor de Gerona, by his credit, has so enforced faith in your words, and suggested to the king so great an opinion of us, that there is no

¹ Ep. 4, Lib. i. p. 683.

way left of drawing back from what we have begun. Now, therefore, I am forced at my own great peril to redeem your promises on my behalf, hard bound by so inevitable a necessity of danger, that if I were to draw aside, or if the event should happen otherwise than you have convinced yourself it will, we all shall have lost for ever not our object only, but our fame also and credit; we shall have enemies instead of helpers, accusers instead of promoters, anger instead of thanks, and be enriched with persecution for our payment.

“But if, indeed, we obey, and the matter chance to issue well, it is doubtful whether in place of reward we may not be destined to new perils; of which perils, rising to the level of our skill, we may at last perish. Thus it may happen that the blow prepared for the head of another may fall on ourselves, unless, indeed, others are destitute of contrivances equal to ours, or better, or at least not by us to be foreseen.

“But this I write to you, not because I seek to turn back, but that I may signify to you that I am ready boldly to take chance of life or death. Nor do I doubt that, unless fate or some evil genius stand in the way, I shall prepare for us immortal glory by this brilliant action, needing no other forces than you only, of whom I have often heretofore experienced that you are a faithful comrade. In this trust I now approach the risk and venture, holding already in my grasp that golden branch of the tree difficult to climb. If you are by my side, it readily will suffer itself to be plucked, otherwise I could

not prevail or wrench it off, even with hard steel: but I should cast myself as a bone to Cerberus, by whom, nevertheless, I would rather be devoured, than like Prometheus be eaten piecemeal in a struggle with incessant dangers. You, therefore, who counselled me to enter on so great an enterprise, who were my leader into this maze, will see that you take as much pains in leading me out, and restoring me to myself, as you spent in urging me thereinto. Farewell, and, returning with the bearer of this, let us have your presence here, so that straightway we may deliberate and put our plan in execution. From the Palace of Granges, April, 1508."

The palace and lands of Granges, or Grangey, on the borders of Franche Comté, belonged then to a quasi-independent lord. They are distant about eight miles from Châtillon-sur-Seine, but a geographical fact far more important to this narrative is, that they are a third of the way in a perfectly direct line from Cologne to Tarragona.

CHAPTER III.

THE PLOT AND ITS ISSUE.

To Galbianus, who had returned to court after visiting Granges, in obedience to the summons of his friend, there came Agrippa's servant, Stephen, bringing verbal tidings and a letter from his master, dated at a place still nearer to the point of action¹. In it Galbianus is reminded again that chiefly to him and Juanetin the writer is indebted for the service upon which he is engaged. "Did I not foretel you long since," he adds, "that so it would be, that when we thought to depart free we should prove to have sold our liberty for misty names of rank, that under the pretext of honours and employments we should be appointed to the worst of perils, and that new work would be set before us whereof death is the hire. Let it content us to have enjoyed this kind of lot once; why should we tempt fortune more? Juanetin, so far as I see,

¹ Ep. 5, Lib. i. p. 684. I do not name the place in the text, because I cannot identify it. The letter dated only with the year is written from Arx Vetus. The nomenclature is so barbarous in many of these letters that I almost fear Arx Vetus may have been Agrippa's Latin for Clermont in Auvergne!

would rather please the king with our dangers than abate in any of his desires out of regard for our well-being. By Jove, I fear the omen of that Acherontine name" (he Latinised his friend—Charona); "our Charon may some day be tumbling us into the Styx. Do you therefore straightway put your mind into his counsels, and whilst your hand is near, however the boat may turn, compel it to the right shore, before our Charon can run it to the left. See therefore how you may deaden by some means the strokes of Juanetin, or shorten them, or be ready with a stout pull of your own at the right season: otherwise, while we must obey the decision of one angry king, we may offend an entire people, and even have those young men of the court in no benignant mood towards us. Do you not remember, my Galbianus, how those youths passed their opinions upon us while they schemed against our independence, telling the king that if he sent us off it might happen that our work would recoil upon his own head, and that the discomfiture carried among enemies he himself at last might suffer; with more in the same vein. See whether we ought up to this point to submit our heads to their counsels, and by an odious subservience precipitate ourselves into greater dangers than humanity itself could bear; let one fit of insanity suffice for us. But with a profligate conscience to wish to continue in such cruel devices, which after all have more in them of crime than of high daring, and for the sake of the rage of one ill-advised prince to expose ourselves to universal hatred, would be utterly impious and mad. Nothing of this sort

was agreed between us at the palace of Granges. I wish now to remind you of our deliberations there, and to assure you of this my opinion, according to which we must depart hence while all is well, or else I will throw myself into some place where I shall be found of nobody, and then you will all see how you can get on without me. You will learn the rest from Stephen. Farewell,—and reply to me at once by the same messenger.” From (Clermont?) 1508.

However it may have pleased his wit when put before him hypothetically, it is quite evident that the enterprise to which he is committed, when it has actually to be faced, pleases Agrippa's wit no better than his conscience. The court of Austria has forced the young man on a work of which the main features are cruelty and treachery. The scheme of treachery his own cunning either suggested or perfected; but what had amused him as an exercise of ingenuity in thought, revolts him as a crime now that he finds himself upon the brink of action. The revulsion of feeling is assisted, evidently in no small degree, by a near view of the perils to be braved for an unworthy purpose. Noticeable also in this letter is the impatience of forced action, the restless desire for independence, often hereafter to be manifested and too seldom asserted with success.

In this case, the effort to shake off his duty of obedience to the emperor's command was unsuccessful. His messenger returned, bringing no favourable response to his expostulation. No way of retreat was opened. The work was to be done.

Tarragon¹ is a province broken up by mountain chains that come as spurs from the adjacent Pyrenees. The town of Tarragon stands like a citadel upon a rock; and on

¹ The identification of places in the narrative of this Spanish adventure, though at first sight difficult, may be considered, I think, certain. Vallis Rotunda, Arx Nigra, and Arcona were the names to be interpreted. There is no town answering directly to the name with which Barcelona and Valencia can be associated as is necessary in the story. This fact, and the whole texture of the narrative which belongs naturally to what Mr. Ford calls "the classical country of revolt," pointed to Catalonia. "Hispaniæ pete Tarraconis arces," Terra Arcona must have been Agrippa's construction of the word Tarragona. In the *Diccionario de España* of Pascual Madoz, we find etymologies enough to justify the rough assumption of Cornelius. It is from the Phœnician tarah and gev, a citadel and strong, says one authority. It is Hebrew, says another, and means good land for buyers. It is from Tarraco, or Tabal, of the family of Noah, says one; no, says another, Tarraco was an Egyptian chief who landed here; wrong, says a third, it is Terra Acon, the land of the Phœnician Acon. Says another, it is Latin, and was called the Place of Fights, Terra Agonum, by the Scipios, because it cost them so much fighting to subdue the natives of that soil. Having assumed that Cornelius read Terra Arcona, and meant by Arcona Tarragona, the rest of the names fit perfectly with this interpretation. Precisely where we might expect to find Vallis Rotunda, we find Villarodona; and "Janotus Bascus de Charona" suggests straightway De Gerona, Gerona being a Catalonian town, of which the bishopric was subject to the see of Tarragon, a place to which a governor of the district about Tarragon, as Janotus was, might naturally belong, and the naming of men of standing by their towns having been at that time the rule in Catalonia. We then find that at a very short distance from Gerona is Bascara, to which place we may attribute, though with less absolute certainty, the origin of the name Bascus; and for Janotus, I have felt reasonably safe in putting Juanetin, since in a history of the *Guerra de Catalonia*, which refers to the same century, I find that, and no other name among the Catalonians answering to Janotus. Error in such points is unimportant. Of the essential facts I feel no doubt, that Arcona is Tarragon; Charona, Gerona; and Vallis Rotunda, Villarodona. Having identified Arcona with Tarragon, it was a satisfaction to be led straightway to the meaning of "Arx Nigra," which is a locality important to the narrative. In the account of the fortifications of Tarragon, by Señor Madoz (*Diccionario de España*), reference is made to the *Fuerte Negro*; and we have also its locality defined. Everything, therefore, tallies with Agrippa's narrative.

the summit, near to the archbishop's palace, within walls supposed to have been raised by the ancient Celts, is the Black Fort—the Fuerte Negro. The seizure of this fort, by a treacherous device, seems to have been the opening act of the adventure. It was successfully accomplished; but as Cornelius only alludes to the attempt in writing to a friend who knows its details, we must be content simply to know that it succeeded. After remaining for a certain time within the Fuerte Negro, Cornelius was sent with others to garrison the house of Juanetin at Villarodona, and protect it from the wrath of an excited people. The small town of Villarodona, in the province of Tarragon, and district of Valls, lies on a pleasant slope by the river Gaya. The mountains of Valls, which are not very notable, were known long after the sixteenth century as an unpeopled wilderness¹.

After many days spent in discussion of their perilous position, the conspirators in the house of Juanetin learnt that their associate Landulph, who had gone back upon some mission, had recrossed the Garonne and was upon his way to Barcelona². For sufficient reasons it was

¹ "Pueden decirse despoblados. Madoz, *loc. cit.*

² Ep. 10, Lib. i. pp. 687-695 is the authority for this and the succeeding details. It is very remarkable that this most striking narrative, coherent in every part, giving names of places and people, and describing a thing so extremely credible as a Catalonian tumult, should have been neglected by all writers. Because the Lyons printers (whose edition of Cornelius was unauthorised, and sometimes mutilated, in submission to the priests), because these "Beringi fratres," misunderstanding the first sentence, and regarding their author simply as a magician, put an absurd commentary in the margin, to this day nobody, in speaking of Agrippa, has referred to these adventures beyond saying that he "went to Spain," and adding, or

judged most prudent that Juanetin should at once repair to Barcelona, and there meet his friend. To Villarodona Barcelona was the nearest port, its distance being about forty miles. Leaving, therefore, Cornelius Agrippa captain of the garrison, the Señor de Gerona set out on his journey. He had determined that he should be back by the festival of John the Baptist; and for that day a feast was accordingly appointed by him, to which he had bidden sundry of his friends, the Prior of St. George's Monastery, and a Franciscan priest who was a member of his family, with many others. Whether Juanetin did at Barcelona see Landulph, and whether anything was planned by them, the little garrison at Villarodona never knew. The master of the house did not return. The day of the appointed dinner-party was at hand; and when the sun had set upon the eve of it, Cornelius, expecting still in vain the absent man, and pondering the cause of his delay; anxious, beset with terrible suspicions, uncertain how to act; with his mind, as he says, disturbed by presage of the coming ill and dread of the approaching night, revolved in his mind many conflicting counsels. At last he retired to rest; but when all in the castle were asleep, night not being far advanced, the abbot's steward came, for whom, when he had given the password to the sentries, the drawbridge was let down, and the gate opened. He summoned Cornelius Agrippa, Perotti the Franciscan,

not adding, that he was engaged there in efforts to make gold. A stupid man scribbles a stupid note upon the margin of a letter, and the letter is a dead letter for three hundred years in consequence.

and two other of Gerona's relatives, to tell them that on his way home from Barcelona their chief had been way-laid by a savage crowd of rustics, and that, two of his followers being killed, he with the others had been bound hand and foot, and carried up the mountains.

"Take heed," added the messenger, "to the danger that is threatening yourselves, unless you can be strongly, suddenly prepared. Meet instantly, and hasten to take wise thought for your affairs here and your very lives!"

The receivers of these tidings were astonished and alarmed; they had no counsel that sufficed to meet the suddenness of the exigency and the greatness of the threatened peril—no one doubting that the castle would be soon surrounded by a hostile people. "And I, too," says Cornelius, "the counsellor of so many enterprises, who had recently been master of so many plots, was wanting to myself." All, therefore, agreed in begging that the abbot's steward, who had told them of the danger, would also tell them, if he could, in what way to avert it.

Said he: "You must either escape by making a well-managed sally, or you must fortify the castle, and that strongly, against the seditious rustics; probably in a few days they will separate for want of any guiding head, or else be put down by the rough hand of the king."

Now the country being in arms, it seemed impossible to escape by breaking through the watches of the peasantry; and for a few men to defend against numerous besiegers a place that was already in ruins, was an undertaking perilous indeed. But there was an old

half-ruined tower three miles distant, situated in one of those mountain wildernesses which, as it has been said, characterise the district of Valls. The tower stood between Villarodona and Tarragon, in a craggy, cavernous valley, where the broken mountains make way for a gulf containing stagnant waters, and jagged, inaccessible rocks hem the place in. At the gorge by which this place is entered stood the tower, on a hill which was itself surrounded by deep bogs and fishers' pools, while it also was within a ring of lofty crags. There was but one way to this tower, except when the ground was frozen, and we speak now of events happening at midsummer, the midsummer of the year 1508. The way among the pools was by a narrow path of stone, hedged with turf walls. The site of the tower made it inexpugnable in summer time. It was tenanted by a poor bailiff of the abbot's, who was set in charge over the fishponds; the abbot's steward, therefore, told his friends that they should occupy and fortify that mountain hold.

The advice seemed good, and was adopted instantly. Pack and baggage were brought out, with every accessible provision for munition or victualling. Conveying all that was most precious and necessary on their horses' backs, and themselves bearing the burden of their powder and artillery, the little band marched under cover of a dark night, as silently as possible, by devious and unfrequented ways, to the appointed place. Having entered the tower, they entrusted their horses, which they had no means of keeping by them, to the steward's care. He rode away

with them, and not long afterwards day broke—St. John the Baptist's festival—the day appointed for the banquet to which he who bade the guests had not returned; and his bold soldiers, says Cornelius, had been transformed into bats, flitting out of daylight to their cavern.

They had not fled too soon. At early dawn on that day the armed peasantry was already assembling about the walls of the abandoned dwelling of Juanetin. Some bringing ladders scaled the crumbling battlements, others beat with strong axes at the doors; the house was seized, and everything it contained scattered in wreck, destroyed, or carried away by the people. That was the festival. The people ran from hall to chamber in vain search for the companions of their enemy. The women and children, who had been left quietly asleep, woke in alarm, but knew not what to say. They could not help the search, which was maintained most fiercely for The German. Under that name was sought Cornelius Agrippa, for from all quarters had come the rumour that he had been the author of the atrocious counsel of the cruel deed, that it was he whose arts had caused the fall of the Black Fort, impregnable by violence, the miserable massacre of the garrison, and the subversion of the public liberty. Troops of peasantry descending from the mountains filled the valley; everywhere were to be heard the shouts of an angry host of men eager to put an end to the conspiracy against their public rights. The hiding place of the conspirators becoming known, the flood of wrath poured down towards the tower, but the strength of the position

was then felt. With a barricade of overthrown waggons that had been used by the bailiff, the sole path to the besieged was closed, and behind this barrier they posted themselves with their arquebuses, of which one only sufficed to daunt a crowd of men accustomed to no weapons except slings or bows and arrows. After suffering some slaughter, the peasantry discovered that the tower was not to be stormed, and altering their design, they settled down with dogged perseverance to beset the place, and by a strict siege starve the little garrison into surrender.

There were, indeed, among the besiegers, says Agrippa, some whose experience of sedition had been great, professing that they still abided by their customary loyalty towards the king. By the help of these the abbot himself, who always had enjoyed a high repute among the people, while the storm of rebellion was raging called at Tarragon a public meeting, pointed out to those who gathered round him the futility of their efforts, the emptiness of their purpose, and persuaded them against disloyalty towards the king; he urged also the restoration of Juanetin and the raising of the siege laid to the tower. But his labour for his friends was vain. If by the abbot here mentioned is meant the Archbishop of Tarragon, it was Don Gonzalo Fernandez de Heredia, who held that office between the years 1489 and 1511. The vicinity of the Black Fort to the archbishop's palace would compel that dignitary, if he was not absent, to a strong feeling for or against the party of Gerona, and the veneration of the people for the abbot,

as well as the course of proceeding taken by him, would, in a slight degree, favour the opinion that under this name Cornelius referred to the archbishop himself. Archbishop or not, and from the sequel of the narrative I think not, he pleaded to deaf ears; the peasantry, risen in arms, scarcely allowed the upholders of the king's authority to speak, replying promptly that their wrath was not against the king, but against Juanetin and his tyranny, whereby they had been lorded over savagely, contrary to all former usage, and vexed with slavery beneath intolerable burdens, so that under the name and form of the protection of the king they had been robbed of the liberty inherited from their forefathers. With many threats of vengeance they urged the wresting from them of the Fuerte Negro, clamouring with the bitterest accusations against the Señor de Gerona and Cornelius Agrippa; against the one as the betrayer of his country, and against the other as the man who by detestable contrivances had robbed them of their fortress and their liberty; against both as men who had moved the king to cruel exercise of his authority, and to so atrocious a use of his victory, that their blood, they asserted, and their lives would not content him. A liberty, regained by force of arms, they would not barter for the flattery of cheating words, but they would acknowledge the king for their master upon those conditions under which he had held rule over their elders: to the lowest slavery he ought not to compel them, and they would not be compelled. All with one voice cried, touching Juanetin and his colleagues in the tower, that

they would rather take the enemies delivered into their possession, than dismiss them to become a second time avengers. Surely, they said, they ought not to prefer the safety of these people to their own; and added, proudly, that in their being loose they had more matter for fear than in the anger of the king, that more help could be got out of their death than out of the king's promises. They who had lost relations at the massacre in the Black Fort laboured especially to keep alive the fury of the people. All being agreed in urgent accusation against Juanetin de Gerona, all determined not to suffer the escape of his companions closely beset in the tower, the abbot, or archbishop, parted at dusk from the men whose wrath he had been utterly unable to appease.

The Catalonians in those days were bold asserters of their rights, and very ready to chastise the nobles who opposed them. Not many years had elapsed since they had forcibly set up a prince of their own choosing, and forty years afterwards a famous Catalonian war was the result of the high value set by them on public liberty. The sympathies of Englishmen can only be against Cornelius and his associates. Juanetin de Gerona was a double traitor, probably; a traitor to his country, as the people said, because in the name of the King of Aragon he became its oppressor. But if he was not playing a double game, how was it that, while professing to recover Ferdinand's authority, he used the help offered him by Maximilian? There was so much bold treachery and petty meanness forming, in the sixteenth century, a part

of the routine of statecraft, the relations between what is done and what is meant become often so complex, that it needs the wit of a sixteenth century diplomatist fairly to understand the significance of many an action not directly labelled with its meaning. Be it enough for us here to know that the young Cornelius Agrippa suffered in Spain merited discomfiture ; that, as he approached his undertaking there, he came to see it in its true light, as a matter not of glory, but of shame, and would have removed his hand from it had he been able. Self-conscious, ambitious as he was, much as he yearned, out of the largeness of his mind and its self-occupation, for a perfect independence, it has been seen how he allowed his course to be determined by the pressure from without. Self-conscious without being fully self-possessed, ambitious, powerful, yet failing in that lofty reach of power which makes poverty a source of wealth, discomfiture the root of triumph, already we perceive how he may hereafter—should he venture on an independent path—be hindered by the opposition he begets.

CHAPTER IV.

HOW CORNELIUS AGRIPPA, BESIEGED IN A TOWER NEAR VILLARODONA, VANISHED WITH ALL HIS COMPANIONS IN ARMS—THE END OF THE CATALONIAN ADVENTURE.

PERILOUS weeks were being passed by the adventurers within the mountain hold. More formidable than the actual conflict was the famine consequent on their blockade. Perrot, the keeper of the fish-ponds, and erewhile the solitary occupant of that old tower among the rocks and marshes, taking cunning counsel with himself to help his guests and to get rid of them, explored with indefatigable zeal every cranny in the wall of rock by which they were surrounded. Clambering among the wastes, with feet accustomed to the difficulties of the mountain, he hoped that perchance he might be the discoverer of some route worthy, at least, to be tried by men who fled from an extremest peril. At length a devious and rugged way, by which unconquerable obstacles of crag and chasm were avoided and the mountain top was to be reached, this friendly peasant found. Looking down from the heights he saw how, upon the other side, the mountain rose out of a lake, known to him as the

Black Lake, which has an expanse of about four miles, and upon the farther shore of which his master's abbey stood. Attempting next the difficult descent upon that other side, he boldly struck into a gorge by which the mountain snows had poured a torrent down. But Perrot, at the lake, was still far from the abbey; and, to men without a boat, the water was a barrier yet more impassable than the steep mountain. He retraced his way, therefore, and by sunset reached the tower, where an assembly of the garrison was held to hear the result of his explorations. The judgment upon it, of course, was that escape was impossible, unless the boat could be obtained, of getting which there was no hope, unless a letter could be carried through the midst of the besiegers to the abbot's hand.

Now the besieging army of the peasants posted and kept constantly relieved strong guards upon every path into the valley, and allowed no person either to go in or pass out on any pretence whatever. Moreover, from the tower no path could be reached except by the one narrow lane across the marshes, barricaded as before described; and to prevent a sally by the doomed band of conspirators, the outlet by this lane was the point best guarded, and, indeed, held by an overwhelming force. The perplexed conspirators, in council, saw no hope for themselves, except through any further help Perrot might furnish; him they besought accordingly, and he informed them that there was a way, known to himself only, by which the marshes could be forded; but that such knowledge

was in this case of no use, because, once across them, there were still guards posted upon every path out of the valley.

Under these desperate circumstances the ingenuity of young Agrippa was severely tested, and he justified the credit he had won for subtle wit. The keeper of the fish-ponds had a son, who was a shepherd-boy. Cornelius took this youth, disfigured him with stains of milk-thistle and juice of other herbs, befouled his skin and painted it with shocking spots to imitate the marks of leprosy, adjusted his hair into a filthy and unsightly bunch, dressed him in beggar's clothes, and gave him a crooked branch for stick, within which there was scooped a hollow nest for the concealment of the letter. Upon the boy so equipped—a dreadful picture of the outcast leper—the leper's bell was hung, his father seated him upon an ox, and, having led him during the darkness of the night across the marshes by the ford, deposited him before sunrise on dry ground, and left him. Stammering, as he went, petitions for alms, this boy walked without difficulty by a very broad road made for him among the peasantry. Even the guards set upon the paths regarded his approach with terror, and, instead of stopping at their posts to question him, fled right and left as from a snake that could destroy them with its evil eye, and flung alms to him from a distance.

So the boy went upon his errand safely, and, returning next day at about the first watch of the night to the border of the marsh, announced his return by ringing of

the bell. His father, on the bullock, crossed the ford to bring him in, and, as he came with the desired answer, there was great rejoicing by Cornelius and his companions.

They spent the night in preparation for departure. Towards dawn they covered their retreat by a demonstration of their usual state of watchfulness and desperation, fired several guns, and gave other indications of their presence. This done, they set forth, in dead silence, carrying their baggage, and were guided by Perrot to the summit. There they lay gladly down among the stones to rest, while their guide descended on the other side and spread the preconcerted signal, a white cloth, upon a rock. When he returned, they ate the breakfast they had brought with them, all sitting with their eyes towards the lake. At about nine o'clock in the morning two fishermen's barks were discerned, which hoisted a red flag, the abbot's signal. Rejoicing at the sight of this, the escaped men fired off their guns in triumph from the mountain-top, a hint to the besieging peasantry of their departure, and, at the same time, a signal to the rescuers. Still following Perrot, they descended, along ways by him discovered, to the meadows bordering the lake, entered the boats, and before evening were safe under the abbot's roof. The day of this escape was the 14th of August. They had been suffering siege, therefore, during almost two months in the mountain fastness.

To the peasants an escape like this seemed a pure miracle, and it produced among them much anxiety, for

they misdoubted whether the same cunning arts which opened unknown ways out of the tower, might not by a strange road bring suddenly an army of the king's into their midst, to plague the whole valley with fire and sword. Insecure, as they believed, by night or day, many seceded from the work of insurrection; but the leaders of it, who had scattered the goods of Juanetin, had taken him and kept him prisoner, abided firmly by their purpose, for they thought no safety possible if he were free. They dreaded not only confiscation, exile, but they doubted also whether life even would be spared to them and theirs if the Señor de Gerona were restored to power.

Cornelius Agrippa being safe could quit the scene, and quitted it without waiting to see how the difficulty would be solved between the Catalonian peasants and their master. It perplexed him much that he had no tidings of his friend Landulph, who either had been or was to have been at Barcelona; and the abbot counselled him, in his perplexity, to go to court again, where the favour he had formerly enjoyed would be regained, and he could easily repair his shattered fortune. He declared, however, that he had no mind to risk being again sent upon hazardous missions, and remained several days in the abbey, doubtful as to the course which he should next pursue, and not very cheerfully disposed to trust himself in travel to the unknown temper of the people.

The German youth then found a friend in an old man,

Antonius Xanthus¹, whose advice was, that he should take heart, go into strange countries and among strange people, see the world, feel his way in it, and spread his sails for any gale of fortune; that he should constitute himself, in fact, knight-errant and adventurer, with not the discovery of a lady or a giant, but of his comrade Landulph, for a special object of desire. "Moderate your concern," said the old man, "explore the shores of Spain, look for your friend in his own Italy, and I will go as your companion on the way."

The person thus offering his companionship was an unlettered old man, who had seen much of the rough side of the world, and appeared to Cornelius worthy of especial patronage. Though he was no philosopher, he had a vast store of experience. Captured by Djem, the unfortunate brother of Bajazet the Second, he had once served as an interpreter among the Turkish galleys; he had lived to a great age, filling his mind constantly with every-day knowledge, and was therefore useful as a travelling companion in strange regions. It was his merit also to be faithful and silent—one who might safely be admitted to a knowledge of the mysteries in which Cornelius indulged, and who was content to be instructed and sworn into the league of which Cornelius and Landulph were important members.

With this singular companion and his servant Stephen, the young courtier, after a stay of nine or ten days at the

¹ Ep. 8 and 10, Lib. i. pp. 686, 694, for this and for what follows until the next reference.

abbey¹, on the 24th of August, 1508, went forth to seek an independent fortune in the world. Of course their first visit was to Barcelona, where they hoped to find some clue to the position of Landulph; but after spending three days in the town, nothing discovered, they proceeded to Valentia. There dwelt a most practised astrologer and philosopher, Comparatus Saracenus, the disciple of Zacutus, but from him also no information could be had. The travellers then sold their horses, and sailed from Valentia for Italy. By way of the Balearic Islands and Sardinia they went to Naples, where they were disheartened by their ill success, and determined to pass forthwith into France. They took ship, therefore, at Naples for Leghorn, and travelling to Avignon, there halted. In that town they learnt, after a few days, from a travelling merchant, that the person of whom they sought tidings was at Lyons.

At once, therefore, on the 17th of December, to Landulph at Lyons, Cornelius wrote, from Avignon, a letter, expressing joy at his friend's safety, and giving tidings of his own happy escape; for since the Italian left Villarodona to procure help for his friends, neither had been certain whether the other was alive or dead. From Villarodona itself Cornelius had dated two epistles to his friend¹, urging him to make all speed in his embassy, and by putting a prompt end to their dangers, put an end also to the state of compulsion under which he lived; but whether those letters might not have been written to a

¹ Ep. 6 and 7, Lib. i. pp. 685-6.

dead man or a captive he had no opportunity of knowing. Writing from Avignon, Cornelius expressed briefly the magnitude of the danger recently escaped, announced that all was well with him again, and added, "Nothing now remains but that, after so many dangers, we insist upon a meeting of our brother combatants, and absolve ourselves from the oaths of our confederacy, that we may recover our old state of fellowship and have it unmolested." He undertook to advise two confederates in Aquitaine, MM. de Bouelles¹ and Clairchamps, of their safety in Avignon and Lyons, while he left to Landulph the business of sending word to Germain de Brie and another delegate in Burgundy, as well as Fasch and Wigand¹, who were at Paris.

Of the associates here mentioned some only were men active enough to produce work remembered by posterity. Charles de Bouelles, or Bovil, born at Sancourt, in Vermandois, studied at Paris, and travelled afterwards in Italy, Germany, and Spain. At Noyon he became a canon and professor of theology, and he died in the middle of the sixteenth century. He had already, in 1503, published a book on metaphysics and geometry, the quadrature of the circle, and the cubication of the sphere. When republished in 1510, a year or two after the present mention of him as one of Cornelius Agrippa's fellow-searchers after wisdom, the character of the work showed that he also must have been at that time an active inquirer into curiosities of knowledge. It contained

¹ Ep. 9, Lib. i. p. 687.

recently-written books on Sense, on Nothing, on Generation, on Wisdom, on the Twelve Numbers, Letters upon the Quadripartite Work, and so forth. Later in life he wrote a good deal of theology, something of language, a book on the utility of arts, and collected three books of common proverbs.

Germain de Brie, native of Auxerre, became known as a canon of Paris, who was a good linguist, and wrote excellent Greek verse. He translated some of the works of Chrysostom, and produced before he died, in 1550, *Anti-Morum*, the fruit of a controversy with Sir Thomas More. Of the other friends I find no trace, unless—but that is not in the least likely—Wigand was the Dominican Wirt or Wigandus who quarrelled about the Immaculate Conception, attacked the Minorites, supported his views with false miracles, and was burnt at Berne in 1509.

Cornelius, then, having arranged concerning these associates, therewith commended himself to his dearest friend, who on receipt of his letter, twenty days afterwards, namely, on the 9th of January, 1509, began his reply¹ with “Alleluia! Alleluia! Alleluia!” and a comparison of his joy to that of Mary Magdalen or the apostles when they learnt the resurrection of the Lord. He is unable to express the energy of his congratulations, and has also to relate how he had made inquiry for his friend across the Pyrenees, by sea and land, by lake and river, field, city, and town; how he had looked for him

¹ Ep. 9, Lib. i. p. 687.

through the entire kingdom of Navarre, through Gascony and Aquitaine; had learnt nothing from De Bouelles and Clairchamps at Toulouse, and then had hastened to Lyons in the belief that, among the merchants of every tongue and clime by which that mart was visited, he might obtain some news of his friend's fate. The search, so vaunted, it will be observed, was only made on the straight road to France, the home of the conspiracy. At Lyons, said Landulph, he was panting to embrace his friend again, and when Agrippa came there, they could talk more at ease about the renewal of their confederation. He gave information of the movements of some comrades, and parted with the expression of a wish that his friend might live long, and a belief that his fame would surpass even his labours. He had asked in the course of this letter for a full account of the escape, which Cornelius sent, adding a hope that Landulph might be able to visit him at Avignon and talk their secrets over, since, being detained by the exhaustion of his funds till he could make some money¹, he

¹ He says: "Sumptuum tenuitate coacti Avenione nos, instructa solida nostra chrysotoci officina tantisper manere, et in opere perseverare oportebit, quoadusque longioris itineris nova fomenta excubemus." Which manner of speaking gets a marginal note from the commentator to the following effect: "Hoc loco fateri videter apertissime, chrysopæam se exercuisse cum sociis fœdere sibi adjunctis, ob quam sæpius apud principes libertatis jacturam ferme fecisset, captivumque fuisse ob hanc rem detentum in Valle rotunda." In a former letter, when expecting honour from the expedition, he said metaphorically that he seemed already to hold "that golden branch of the tree difficult to climb," meaning success, the marginal note was "Chymica paratam arte putat arborem, de qua Paracelsus, Lib. de natura rerum." Now, as to the likelihood of young Agrippa's taking it into his head

could not leave for Lyons until after the lapse of a little time.

to stop at Avignon till he had made, literally till he had created, money enough to carry him on further, we shall see that in a book written about this time he says, "apertissime," that to make an ounce of gold out of an ounce of gold is the extreme limit of his conjuring. And the letter, which, by misreading one sentence, under the influence of a general idea that it is a magician who writes, the commentator seems to have warned all subsequent readers against noticing, tells a true chapter of life surely "apertissime" enough.

CHAPTER V.

CORNELIUS A DOCTOR OF DIVINITY.

THE secrets to be talked over between Cornelius and his friend related to that study of the mysteries of knowledge in which the Theosophists assisted one another. Secret societies, chiefly composed of curious and learned youths, had by this time become numerous, and numerous especially among the Germans. Not only the search after the philosopher's stone, which was then worthy to be prosecuted by enlightened persons, but also the new realms of thought laid open by the first glance at Greek literature, and by the still more recent introduction of a study of the Hebrew language, occupied the minds of these associated scholars. Such studies often carried those who followed them within the borders of forbidden ground, and therefore secrecy was a condition necessary to their freedom of inquiry. Towards the close of the sixteenth century such associations (the foundation of which had been a desire to keep thought out of fetters) were developed into the form of brotherhoods of Rosicrucians: Physician, Theosophist, Chemist, and now, by the mercy of God, Rosicrucian, became then the style in which a

brother gloried. The brotherhoods of Rosicrucians are still commonly remembered, but in the social history of Europe they are less to be considered than those first confederations of Theosophists, which nursed indeed mystical errors gathered from the Greeks and Jews, but out of whose theories there was developed much of a pure spiritualism that entered into strife with what was outwardly corrupt and sensual in the body of the Roman Church, and thus prepared the way for the more vital attacks of the Reformers. When first Greek studies were revived, the monks commonly regarded them as essentially adverse to Roman interests, and the very language seemed to them infected with the plague of heresy. In the Netherlands it became almost a proverb with them that to be known for a grammarian was to be reputed heretic. Not seldom, indeed, in later times, has John Reuchlin, who, for his Greek and Hebrew scholarship was called, after the manner of his day, the Phoenix of Germans, and who was the object of an ardent hero-worship to men like Cornelius Agrippa, been called also the Father of the Reformation¹. Certainly Luther, Erasmus, and Melancthon had instruction from him; by him it was that Schwartzerd had been taught to call himself Melancthon; and many will remember how, after his death, Erasmus, in a pleasant dialogue, raised his old friend to the rank of saint, and prayed to him, "Oh,

¹ He is so called on the title-page of an English adaptation of Mayerhoff's *Reuchlin und seine Zeit*, Berlin, 1830—*The Life and Times of John Reuchlin, or Capnion, the Father of the German Reformation*. By Francis Barham, Esq. Whittaker and Co. 1843.

holy soul, be favourable to the languages; be favourable to those that love honourers of the languages; be propitious to the sacred tongues." But Reuchlin—for the taste of smoke in it, Reuchlin *quasi* Reekie, his name was turned into the Greek form, Capnio—Reuchlin, or Capnio, never passed as a reformer beyond detestation of the vices of the priesthood. Like Cornelius, who began his life before the public as a scholar by an act of homage to his genius, Reuchlin loved liberty and independence, cherished the idol of free conscience, but never fairly trusted himself to its guidance. To the last an instinct of obedience to the Church governed his actions, and the spiritual gold he could extract from Plato, Aristotle, or the wonderful Cabala of the Jews, was in but small proportion to the dross fetched up with it from the same ancient mines.

A contemporary notion of the Reformation, not without some rude significance in this respect, is said to have been obtruded upon Charles V. by a small body of unknown actors, who appeared before him in 1530, when he was in Germany. He had been dining with his brother Ferdinand, and did not refuse their offer to produce a comedy in dumb show. One dressed as a scholar, labelled Capnio, brought before the emperor a bundle of sticks—some crooked and some straight—laid them down in the highway, and departed. Then entered another, who professed to represent Erasmus, looked at the sticks, shook his head, made various attempts to straighten the crooked ones, and finding that he could not do so, shook

his head over them again, put them down where he found them, and departed. Then came an actor, labelled Luther, with a torch, who set all that was crooked in the bundle blazing. When he was gone entered one dressed as an emperor, who tried in vain to put the fire out with his sword. Last came Pope Leo X., to whom, grieving dismally over the spectacle before him, there were two pails brought; one contained oil, the other water. His holiness, to quell the fire, poured over it the bucketful of oil, and while the flame attracted all eyes by the power, beyond mastery, with which it shot up towards heaven, the actors made their escape undetected¹.

Now, it was over the crooked sticks of Capnio, and many other matters difficult of comprehension, that Cornelius and his confederates were bent in curious and anxious study. "The bearer of these letters," said Landulph, in excusing himself on the plea of illness, from a winter journey to his friend at Avignon²—"the bearer of these letters is a German, native of Nuremberg, but dwelling at Lyons; and he is a curious inquirer after hidden mysteries, a free man, restrained by no fetters, who, impelled by I know not what rumour concerning you, desires to sound your depths." That the man himself might be sounded, as one likely to have knowledge of some important things, and that if it seemed fit, he should be made a member of their brotherhood, was the

¹ *Johann Reuchlin und seine Zeit.* Von Dr. Ernst Theodor Mayerhoff. Berlin, 1830. Pp. 79, 80, in note. He cites the story from Majus.

² Ep. Corn. Agr. 11, Lib. i. p. 695.

rest of the recommendation of this person by Landulph to his friend Agrippa.

At Lyons were assembled many members of his league, awaiting the arrival of the young soldier-philosopher. His early taste for an inquiry into mysteries had caused him to take all possible advantage, as a scholar, of each change of place and each extension of acquaintance among learned men who were possessors of rare books. He had searched every accessible volume that might help him in the prosecution of the studies that had then a fascination, not for him only, but for not a few of the acutest minds in Christendom. At that time there was, in the modern sense, no natural science; the naturalists of ancient Greece and Rome being the sole authorities in whom the learned could put trust. Of the miraculous properties of plants and animals, and parts of animals, even at the close of the sixteenth century, careful and sober men placed as accepted knowledge many extravagant ideas on record. At the beginning of the century, when a belief in the influences of the stars, in the interferences of demons, and in the most wonderful properties of bodies, was the rule among learned and unlearned—Luther himself not excluded from the number—an attempt to collect and group, if it might be, according to some system, the most recondite secrets or what passed for the divine ordering of nature, was in no man's opinion foolish, though in the opinion of the greater number criminal. Belief in the mysteries of magic, not want of belief, caused men to regard with enmity and dread researches into secrets that might give to those by

whom they were discovered subtle and superhuman power, through possessing which they would acquire an influence, horrible to suspect, over their fellow-creatures. Detaching their search into the mysteries of the universe from all fear of this kind, the members of such secret societies as that to which Cornelius belonged gathered whatever fruit they could from the forbidden tree, and obtained mutual benefit by frank exchange of information. Cornelius had already, by incessant search, collected notes for a complete treatise upon magic, and of these not a few were obtained from Reuchlin's Hebrew-Christian way of using the Cabala.

From Avignon, after a short stay, Cornelius Agrippa went to Lyons¹, and remaining there some weeks, compared progress with his friends, and no doubt also formally divested himself of any further responsibility connected with the Spanish enterprise. Towards the end of this year, a friend at Cologne, Theodoric, Bishop of Cyrene², wrote, expressing admiration of him, as of one among so many thousand Germans who at sundry times and places had displayed in equal degree power to labour vigorously as a man at arms as well as man of letters. Who does not know, the bishop asks, how few of many thousands have done that? He envies those who can thus earn the wreath of Mars without losing the favour of Minerva, and calls the youth "in arms a man, in scholarship a teacher." To escape the soldier's life of bondage seems to be now the ambition of the scholar. With the world before him, in the twenty-third year of his age, well born, distinguished

¹ Ep. 12, Lib. i. p. 696.

² Ep. 12, Lib. i. p. 700.

among all who knew him for the rare extent of his attainments, Cornelius, attended by his servant Stephen, quitted his friends at Lyons, and rode to Authun, where he was received in the abbey of a liberal and hospitable man, physician, theologian, and knight by turns, M. Champier, who, having been born at Saint Saphorin-le-Château, near Lyons, was called Symphorianus Champier, or Campegius, and who, not content with his own noble ancestry, assigned himself, by right of the Campegius, to the family of the Campeggi of Bologna, and assumed its arms. He studied at Paris *Litera humaniora*, at Montpellier medicine, and practised at Lyons. He lived to obtain great fame, deserving little, and losing after his death all. It was not until five years after this visit from Cornelius Agrippa that Symphorianus, acting as body physician to the Duke of Lorraine, was knighted on the battle-field of Marignano. Among his writings, those which most testify his sympathy with the inquiries of Cornelius, are a book on the Miracles of Scripture, a Life of Arnold of Villeneuve, and a French version of Sibylline oracles. This Champier then sympathised with the enthusiasm of the young theosophist, and under his roof the first venture of Cornelius before the world of letters seems to have been planned. In the last week of May¹, we find that he has sent Stephen to fetch De Brie from Dôle, has summoned Antonius Xanthus from Niverne, and wishes, in association with Symphorianus, to arrange a meeting with Landulph, at any convenient place and time. He has some-

¹ Ep. 12, Lib. i. p. 696.

thing in hand concerning which he wishes to take counsel with his comrades. A few days afterwards he and Landulph are at Dôle together; and while Cornelius has left Dôle for a short time to go to Châlon (sur Saône), his friend sends word to him that he has engaged on his behalf the interest of the Archbishop of Besançon (Antony I., probably not an old man, since he was alive thirty years afterwards¹), who desires greatly to see him, and boasts that he can give information of some things unknown perhaps even to him. The archbishop is impatient to see the person who has stored up from rare books, even those written in Greek and Hebrew, so great a number of the secrets of the universe. Landulph, to content him, antedates the time appointed for his friend's return, and while reporting this, adds that there are many at Dôle loud in the praise of Cornelius, and none louder than himself². The influence of his associates is evidently at work on his behalf among the magnates of the town and university of Dôle, and learned men in the adjoining towns of Burgundy, for it is at Dôle that he has resolved to make his first public appearance as a scholar, by expounding in a series of orations Reuchlin's book on the Mirific Word³. At Châlon, however, Cornelius fell sick of a summer pestilence⁴, from which he was recovering on the eighth of

¹ Zedler's *Universal Lexicon*, Art. *Besançon*.

² Ep. 13. Lib. i. p. 696.

³ H. C. Agr. *Expostulatio cum Joanne Catilineti*. Opuscula ed. 1532. Mense Maio. fol. D. iii.

⁴ Ep. 14. Lib. i. p. 696.

July. As soon as health permitted he returned to Dôle, where there was prepared for him a cordial reception.

Dôle is a pretty little town, and at that time possessed the university which was removed in after years to Besançon. Its canton was called, for its beauty and fertility, the Val d'Amour; and when Besançon was independent of the lords of Burgundy Dôle was their capital. A pleasant miniature capital, with not four thousand inhabitants, a parliament, a university, a church of Notre Dame whereof the tower could be seen from distant fields, a princely residence,—Dôle la Joyeuse they called it until thirty years before Cornelius Agrippa declaimed his orations there; but after it had been, in 1479, captured and despoiled by a French army, it was called Dôle la Dolente.

Mistress of Dôle and Burgundy was Maximilian's daughter, Margaret of Austria, who, in this year of Agrippa's life, was twenty-nine years old. She was already twice a widow. When affianced twice—once vainly to France, a second time to Spain, and likely to perish in a tempest before reaching her appointed husband—she had wit to write a clever epitaph upon herself. Her Spanish husband died almost after the first embrace, and she had since, after four years of wedded happiness, lost her true husband, Philibert of Savoy. She was twenty-four years old when that happened, and resolved to make an end of marrying. In 1506, after the death of Archduke Philip, her father Maximilian being guardian of his grandson Charles the Fifth, made Margaret his governor over the

Netherlands, and appointed her to rule also over Burgundy and the Charolois. Thus she came to be, in the year 1509, mistress at Dôle. A clever, lively woman, opposed strongly to France, and always mindful of the interests of that house of Austria to which the family of young Agrippa was attached, Margaret was well known for her patronage of letters and her bounty towards learned men. It would be, therefore, a pleasant transfer of his loyalty, Agrippa thought, from Maximilian to Margaret, if he could thereby get rid of what he regarded as camp slavery under the one, and earn the favour of the other in the academic grove. To earn Margaret's good-will and help upon the royal road to fortune was one main object of Cornelius when he announced at Dôle that he proposed to expound Reuchlin's book, on the Mirific Word, in orations, to which, inasmuch as they were to be delivered in honour of the most serene Princess Margaret, the whole public would have gratuitous admission¹.

Poor boy! he could not possibly have made a more genuine and honest effort, or one less proper to be used by evil men for the damnation of his character. Margaret was the princess to whom of all others he was able to pay unaffected homage, and Reuchlin, then the boast of Germans, was the scholar of whom before every other he, a German youth, might choose to hold discourse to the Burgundians. Of Reuchlin, Ægidius, chief of the

¹ Dedication prefixed to the treatise *De Nobilitate Fæmineæ Sexus*. Opuscula ed. 1532. Mense Maio. fol. A. i.

Austin Friars, wrote¹, that he "had blessed him and all mortals by his works." Philip Beroaldus, the younger, wrote to him: "Pope Leo X. has read your Pythagorean book, as he reads all good books, greedily; then it was read by the Cardinal de' Medici, and I am expecting next to have my turn." This book, which had been read by the Pope himself with eager pleasure, was a wonder of the day, and was in the most perfect unison with the whole tone of the boy's mind; he really understood it deeply, it was most dear to him as a theosophist, and he was not to be blamed if he felt, also, that of all books in the world there was none of which the exposition would so fully serve his purpose of displaying the extent and depth of his own store of knowledge.

Mainly upon what was said and written by Cornelius Agrippa in this twenty-third year of his age has been founded the defamation by which, when he lived, his spirit was tormented and the hope of his existence miserably frustrated,—by which, now that he is dead, his character comes down to us defiled. This victim, at least, has not escaped the vengeance of the monks, and his crime was that he studied vigorously in his salad days those curiosities of learning into which, at the same time, popes, bishops, and philosophers, mature of years, inquired with equal faith and almost equal relish, but less energy or courage. For a clear understanding of the ground, and of the perils of the ground, now taken by Cornelius

¹ Quoted from Mayenhoff, whom Mr. Barham oddly enough here translates, "Ægidius, general of the Eremites, wrote to the holy Augustin."

Agrippa, little more is necessary than a clear notion of what was signified by Reuchlin's book on the Mirific Word; but what has to be said of Reuchlin and his book, as well as of other matters that will hereafter concern the fortunes of Cornelius, requires some previous attention to a subject pretty well forgotten in these days by a people rich in better knowledge; we must recal, in fact, some of the main points of the Cabala.

The traditions, or Cabala, of the Jews¹ are contained in sundry books, written by Hebrew Rabbis, and consist of a strange mixture of fable and philosophy varying on a good many points, but all adhering with sufficient accuracy to one scheme of doctrine. They claim high and remote origin. Some say that the first Cabala were received by Adam from the angel Raziel, who gave him, either while he yet remained in Paradise, or else at the time of his expulsion, to console and help him, a book full of divine wisdom. In this book were the secrets of nature, and by knowledge of them Adam entered into conversation with the sun and moon, knew how to summon good and evil spirits, to interpret dreams, foretel events, to heal, and to destroy. This book, handed down from father to son, came into Solomon's possession, and by its aid Solomon became master of many potent secrets. A cabalistical

¹ This account of the Cabala is derived from German sources, among which the chief are Brucker's *Historia Philosophiæ* and the *Kabbala Denu-data*, a collection of old cabalistical writings arranged and explained by Christian Knorr von Rosenroth. The Germans of our own time have resumed investigation of the subject, and a volume has been published on the *Religions Philosophie des Sohar*, by D. H. Joel, Leipsic, 1849. The subject has also been discussed at large by more than one French Orientalist. It has obtained little distinct notice in England.

volume, called the Book of Raziel, was, in the middle ages, sometimes to be seen among the Jews.

Another account said that the first cabalistical book was the Sepher Jezirah, written by Abraham; but the most prevalent opinion was, that when the written law was given on Mount Sinai to Moses, the Cabala, or mysterious interpretation of it, was taught to him also. Then Moses, it was said, when he descended from the mountain, entered Aaron's tent, and taught him also the secret powers of the written word; and Aaron, having been instructed, placed himself at the right hand of Moses, and stood by while his sons, Eleazar and Ithamar, who had been called into the tent, received the same instruction. On the right and left of Moses and Aaron then sat Ithamar and Eleazar, when the seventy elders of the Sanhedrim were called in and taught the hidden knowledge. The elders finally were seated, that they might be present when all those among the common people who desired to learn came to be told those mysteries; thus the elect of the common people heard but once what the Sanhedrim heard twice, the sons of Aaron three times, and Aaron four times repeated of the secrets that had been made known to Moses by the voice of the Most High.

Of this mystical interpretation of the Scripture no person set down any account in writing, unless it was Esdras; but some Jews doubt whether he did. Israelites kept the knowledge of the doctrine by a pure tradition; but about fifty years after the destruction of Jerusalem, Akiba, a great rabbi, wrote the chief part of it in that

book, Sepher-jezireh, or the Book of the Creation, which was foolishly ascribed by a few to Abraham. A disciple of the Rabbi Akiba was Rabbi Simeon ben Jochai, who wrote more of the tradition in a book called Zoar.

The truth probably is, that the literature of cabalism, which is full of suggestions derived from the Neoplatonics of Alexandria, began with the Jews of Alexandria under the first Ptolemys. In the book of Simeon ben Schetach it went to Palestine, where it at first was little heeded; but after the destruction of Jerusalem it gained importance, and then Rabbis Akiba and Simeon ben Jochai extended it. It is indisputable that Aristotle had been studied by the writer of the Sepher-jezireh, the oldest known book of the Cabalists. The Cabala went afterwards with other learning to Spain, and that part of it at least which deals with Hebrew anagrams cannot be traced to a time earlier than the eleventh century. Many rabbis—Abraham ben David, Saudia, Moses Botril, Moses bar Nachman, Eliezer of Garmiza, and others—have written Hebrew books for the purpose of interpreting the system of the Cabala; but it was, perhaps, not before the eighth century that it had come to receive very general attention from the Jews.

The Cabala consisted of two portions, the symbolical and the real; the symbolical Cabala being the means by which the doctrines of the real Cabala were elicited.

In the Hebrew text of the Scriptures, it was said, there is not only an evident, but there is also a latent meaning; and in its latent meaning are contained the mysteries of

God and of the universe. It need scarcely be said that a belief in secret wisdom has for ages been inherent in the Oriental mind, and in the Scriptures, it was reasoned by the later Jews, all wisdom must be, of necessity, contained. Of divine authorship, they cannot be like ordinary works of men. But if they were taken only in their natural sense, might it not be said that many human works contain marvels not less surprising and morality as pure. No, it was said, as we have entertained angels, and regarded them as men, so we may entertain the words of the Most High, if we regard only their apparent sense and not their spiritual mystery. And so it was that through a blind excess of reverence the inspired writings were put to superstitious use.

The modes of examining their letters, words, and sentences, for hidden meaning, in which wholly consisted the symbolical Cabala, were three, and these were called Gemantria, Notaricon, Themura.

Gemantria was arithmetical when it consisted in applying to the Hebrew letters of a word the sense they bore as numbers, letters being used also for figures in the Hebrew as in Greek. Then the letters in a word being taken as numbers and added up, it was considered that another word, of which the letters added up came to an equal sum, might fairly be substituted by the arithmetical gemantria. Figurative gemantria deduced mysterious interpretations from the shapes of letters used in sacred writing. Thus, in Numbers x. 35, $\supset$ means the reversal of enemies. This kind of interpretation was known also by the name of

Zurah. Architectonic gemantria constructed words from the numbers given by Scripture when describing the measurements of buildings, as the ark, or temple.

By Notaricon more words were developed from the letters of a word, as if it had consisted of so many abbreviations, or else first and last letters of words, or the first letters of successive words, were detached from their places and put side by side. By Themura, any word might be made to yield a mystery out of its anagram ; these sacred anagrams were known as Zeruph. By the same branch of the symbolical Cabala three systems were furnished, in accordance with which words might be transformed by the substitution of one letter for another. The first of the systems, Albam, arranged the letters of the alphabet in two rows, one below another; the second, Athbath, gave another couple of rows ; the third, Athbach, arranged them by pairs in three rows, all the pairs in the first row being the numerical value ten, in the second row a hundred, in the third a thousand; any one of these forms might be consulted, and any letter in a word exchanged for another standing either in Albam, Athbath, or Athbach, immediately above it or below it, or on the right hand of it or the left.

This was the symbolical Cabala, and the business of it was to extract, by any of the means allowed, the hidden meaning of the Scriptures. The real Cabala was the doctrine in this way elicited. It was theoretical, explaining divine qualities, the ten sephiroth, the fourfold cabalistical worlds, the thirty-two footprints of wisdom, the

fifty doors to prudence, Adam Kadmon, &c.; or it was practical, explaining how to use such knowledge for the calling of spirits, the extinguishing of fires, the banning of disease, and so forth.

The theoretical Cabala contained, it was said by Christian students, many references to the Messiah. Its main points were: 1. The Tree; 2. The Chariot of Ezekiel; 3. The Work of Creation; 4. The Ancient of Days mentioned in Daniel. It concerns us most to understand the Tree. The Chariot of Ezekiel, or Maasseh Mercabah, was a description of prefigurements concerning ceremonial and judicial law. The doctrine of Creation, in the book Levischith, was a dissertation upon physics. The Ancient of Days treated of God and the Messiah in a way so mystical that cabalists generally declined to ascribe any meaning at all to the direct sense of the words employed. Of these things we need say no more, but of the Cabalistical Tree it will be requisite to speak in more detail.

It was an arrangement of the ten sephiroth. The word Sephiroth is derived by some rabbis from a word meaning to count, because they are a counting of the divine excellence. Otherwise it is considered an adaptation of the Greek word Sphere, because it represents the spheres of the universe which are successive emanations from the Deity.

In the beginning was Or Haensoph, the eternal light, from whose brightness there descended a ray through the first-born of God, Adam Kadmon, and presently, depart-

ing from its straight course, ran in a circle, and so formed the first of the sephiroth, which was called Kethei, or the crown, because superior to all the rest. Having formed this circle, the ray resumed its straight course till it again ran in a circle to produce the second of the ten sephiroth, Chochma, wisdom, because wisdom is the source of all. The same ray of divine light passed on, losing gradually, as it became more distant from its holy source, some of its power, and formed presently, in like manner, the third of the sephiroth, called Binah, or understanding, because understanding is the channel through which wisdom flows to things below—the origin of human knowledge. The fourth of the sephiroth is called Gedolah or Chesed, greatness or goodness, because God, as being great and good, created all things. The fifth is Geburah, strength, because it is by strength that He maintains them, and because strength is the only source of justice in the world. The sixth of the sephiroth, Thpereth, beauty or grace, unites the qualities of the preceding. The four last of the sephiroth are successsively named Nezach, victory; Hod, honour; Jesod, or Schalom, the foundation or peace; and finally, Malcuth, the kingdom. Each of the ten has also a divine name, and their divine names, written in the same order, are Ejeh, Jah, Jehovah, (pronounced Elohim), Eloah, Elohim, Jehovah (pronounced as usual), Lord Sabaoth, Jehovah Zebaoth, Elchai (the living God), Adonai (the Lord). By these circles our world is surrounded, and, weakened in its passage through them, but able to bring down with it powers that are the

character of each, divine light reaches us. These sephi-roth, arranged in a peculiar manner, form the Tree of the Cabalists; they are also sometimes arranged in the form of a man, Adam Kadmon, according to the idea of the Neoplatonics that the figure of the world was that of a man's body. In accordance with another view derived from the same school, things in this world were supposed to be gross images of things above. Matter was said by the cabalists to have been formed by the withdrawal of the divine ray, by the emanation of which from the first source it was produced. Everything created was created by an emanation from the source of all, and that which being most distant contains least of the divine essence is capable of gradual purification; so that even the evil spirits will in course of time become holy and pure, and be assimilated to the brightest of the emanations from Or Haensoph. God, it was said, is all in all; everything is part of the divine essence, with a growing, or perceptive, or reflective power, one or all, and by that which has one all may be acquired. A stone may become a plant; a plant, a beast; a beast, a man; a man, an angel; an angel, a creator.

This kind of belief, which was derived also from the Alexandrian Platonists led to that spiritual cabalism by which such Christians as Reuchlin and Agrippa profited. It connected them by a strong link with the divine essence, and they, feeling perhaps more distinctly than their neighbours that they were partakers of the divine nature, and might, by a striving after purity of soul and

body, win their way to a state of spiritual happiness and power, cut themselves off from all communion with the sensuality that had become the scandal of the Church of Rome, and keenly perceived, as they expressed strongly, their sense of the degraded habits of the priests. It was in this way that the Christian Cabalists assisted in the labours of the Reformation.

Little more has to be said about their theory, and that relates to the Four Cabalistical Worlds. These were placed in the four spaces between the upper sephiroth. Between the first and second was placed Aziluth, the outflowing, which contained the purest beings, the producers of the rest. Between the second and third sephiroth was the world Briah, or the thrones, containing spirits less pure, but still not material. They were classed into wheels, lightnings, lions, burning spirits, angels, children of God, cherubim. Their prince was called Metatron. The world in the next interspace, called Jezireh, angels, approached more nearly to a material form; and the fourth, Asiah, was made wholly material. From this point density increases till our world is reached. Asiah is the abode of the Klippoth, or material spirits striving against God. They travel through the air, their bodies are of dense air, incorruptible, and they have power to work in the material world. With Catoriel, Adam Belial, Esau, Aganiel, Usiel, Ogiel, Thomiel, Theumiel, for captains, they fight in two armies under their chiefs Zamiel and Lilith. Their enemies are the angels, who contend against them with two armies, led by Metatron and Sandalphon.

Lilith is the begetter of the powers striving against light.

The nature of man's soul, said Cabalists, is threefold—vegetative, perceptive, intellectual—each embracing each. It emanates from the upper sephiroth, is composed of the pure elements—for the four elements, either in their pure and spiritual or their gross form, enter into all things—is expansive, separates after death, so that the parts return each to its own place, but reunite to praise God on the sabbaths and new moons. With each soul are sent into the world a guardian and an accusing angel.

Now, as the creative light runs round each upper world before coming to ours, it comes to us charged with supernal influences, and such an idea lies at the foundation of cabalistical magic. By what secret to have power over this line of communication with superior worlds it is for practical cabalism to discover.

The secret consisted chiefly in the use of names. God, it was said, gave to all things their names; He could have given no name that was not mystically fit; every such name, therefore, is a word containing divine power, and especially affecting that thing, person, or spirit to which it belongs. The Scripture tells us that there are names written in heaven; why, it was said, should they be written there, if they be useless. Through the knowledge of such divine names, it is affirmed, Moses overcame the sorcerers of Egypt, Elias brought fire from heaven, Daniel closed the mouths of lions. But of all names by which wonders can be wrought, the Mirific Word of Words

(here we come to the main thought of Reuchlin's book, and to the central topic of the oratory of Cornelius) was the concealed name of God—the Schem-hammaphoraseh. Whoever knows the true pronounciation of the name Jehovah—the name from which all other divine names in the world spring as the branches from a tree, the name that binds together the sephiroth—whoever has that in his mouth has the world in his mouth. When it is spoken angels are stirred by the wave of sound. It rules all creatures, works all miracles, it commands all the inferior names of deity which are borne by the several angels that in heaven govern the respective nations of the earth. The Jews had a tradition that when David was upon the point of fighting with Goliath, Jaschbi, the giant's brother, tossed him up into the air, and held a spear below, that he might fall upon it. But Abishai, when he saw that, pronounced the holy name, and David remained in the air till Jaschbi's spear no longer threatened him. They said, also, that the Mirific name was among the secrets contained in the Holy of Holies, and that when any person having entered that shrine of the temple learnt the word of power, he was roared at as he came out by two brazen lions, or bayed by brazen dogs, until through terror he lost recollection of it. Some Jews accounted also by a fable of this nature for our Saviour's miracles. They said that, having been admitted within the Holy of Holies, and having learnt the sacred mystery, he wrote it down upon a tablet, cut open his thigh, and having put the tablet in the wound, closed the flesh over it by utter-

ing the name of wonder. As he passed out the roaring lions caused the secret to pass from his mind, but afterwards he had only to cut out the tablet from his thigh, and, as the beginning of miracles, heal instantly the wound in his own flesh by pronouncing the Mirific Word. Such Jewish details were, of course, rejected by the Christians, who accepted the essential principles of the Cabala.

As the name of all power was the hidden name of God, so there were also names of power great, though limited, belonging to the angels and the evil spirits. To discover the names of the spirits, by applying to the Hebrew text of Scripture the symbolical Cabala, was to acquire some of the power they possessed. Thus, it being said of the Sodomites that they were struck with blindness, the Hebrew word for blindness was translated into Chaldee, and the Chaldee word by one of the symbolical processes was made to yield the name of a bad angel, Schabriri, which, being written down, was employed as a charm to cure ophthalmia. A common mode of conjuration with these names of power was by the use of amulets, pieces of paper or parchment on which, for certain purposes, certain names were written. At his first entrance into the world such an amulet, with the names "Senoi, Sansenoi, Semongeloph," upon it, was slipped round the neck of the new-born child, so that the infant scarcely saw the light before it was collared by the genius of superstition.

Another mode of conjuration consisted in the use, not of names, but of the Psalms of David. Whole volumes

were written upon this use of the Psalms. The first of them, written on doeskin, was supposed to help the birth of children; others could, it was thought, be so written as to make those who carried them invisible; others secured favour from princes; others extinguished fires. The transcription of a psalm for any such purpose was no trifling work, because, apart from the necessary care in the formation of letters, some having a mystical reason for being larger than others, it was necessary for the copyist, as soon as he had written down one line, to plunge into a bath. Moreover, that the charm might be the work of a pure man, before beginning every new line of his manuscript, it was thought necessary that he should repeat the plunge.

Such were the mysteries of the Hebrew Cabala, strangely blending a not unrefined philosophy with basest superstition. It remains for us to form some just opinion of the charm they had for many Christian scholars in the first years of the sixteenth century. Reuchlin, or Capnio, was of such scholars the leader and the type; as such, indeed, he was accepted by the young Cornelius Agrippa. He was the greatest Hebrew scholar of his day, and had become so by his own natural bent. Born at Pfortzheim, of the poorest parents, two-and-thirty years before Agrippa came into the world, taught Latin at the town-school, and winning in his youth a ducal patron by his tunable voice as chorister in the court chapel at Baden, by his quick wit, and his serene, lively, amiable temper, he never afterwards lacked powerful assistance.

The life of Reuchlin¹ is the story of the origin of Greek and Hebrew studies among learned Europeans. He was sent with the Margrave's son, afterwards Bishop of Utrecht, to Paris. The fall of Constantinople, in 1453, had caused fugitive Greeks to betake themselves to many European cities, where they sometimes gave instruction in their language. Reuchlin, at Paris, learned Greek from a Spartan, who gave him instruction also in caligraphy, and made him so clever a workman with his pen, that he could eke out his means and buy books with money earned as a Greek copyist. He studied Aristotle with the Spartan. Old John Wessel, of Groningen, a disciple of Thomas à Kempis, taught him Hebrew, and invited him to a direct study of the Bible. At the age of twenty he was engaged by publishers to write a Latin dictionary, which he called *Breviloquus*. At the age of twenty he taught Greek publicly, laying his main stress on a study of the grammar; the good sense he spoke emptied the benches of the sophisters around him, and produced complaints from old-fashioned professors. It was then urged that all the views disclosed in Greek books were essentially opposed to the spirit and belief of Rome. The monks had no commerce with the language; and when they came to a Greek quotation in a book that they were copying, were used to inscribe the formula "Græca sunt, non leguntur." Reuchlin maintained his ground, at twenty-

¹ This sketch is drawn chiefly from Mayerhoff, with reference also to *Reuchlin's Leben und die Denkwürdigkeiten seiner Vaterstadt*, von Siegm. Fr. Gehres, Karlsruhe, 1815, where the citation is not direct from Reuchlin's works. Mr. Barham's book has also been before me.

five wrote a Greek grammar, lectured at Poitiers, and was made licentiate of civil law. His notion of law studies was expressed in a formula that has been applied in other terms to other things: In his first year the young lawyer knows how to decide all causes, in the second begins to be uncertain, in the third acknowledges that he knows nothing, and then first begins to learn. In the last of these stages of progress the licentiate of Poitiers repaired to Tübingen, and practised as an advocate with such success that he made money and married. At Tübingen, Reuchlin won the confidence of Eberhard of the Black, became his private secretary and one of his privy-councillors, and went with him to Rome in 1482, his age then being eight-and-twenty. At Rome he distinguished himself as an orator before the Pope, and was considered to speak Latin wonderfully well for a German. After his return to Germany, John Reuchlin remained with Eberhard in Stuttgart, became assessor of the Supreme Court at the age of thirty, and a year afterwards was elected proctor for the body of the Dominicans throughout all Germany, which unpaid office he held for nearly thirty years. At the age of thirty-one he received at Tübingen his doctorate, and in the year following, that is to say, in the year of Cornelius Agrippa's birth, he was sent with two others to Frankfort, Cologne, and Aix-la-Chapelle, on the occasion of the coronation of Maximilian as Roman emperor. Then it was that Maximilian first became acquainted with him. Reuchlin had then a house at Stuttgart, and was known as a great cultivator of the

learned languages, while he was also high in the favour of his own prince, and in constant request as a practitioner of law. In 1490 he was sent to Rome on another mission, and on his way through Florence enjoyed personal intercourse with Giovanni Pico di Mirandola, the scholar who, although a determined antagonist to the astrologers, was a great friend to cabalism and the introducer of the cabalistic mysteries into the favour of Italian scholars. By him Reuchlin was further stimulated to the love of Hebrew lore. When, two years afterwards, Reuchlin was at Linz on state business with the Emperor Frederic III., it was something, indeed, that the base-born scholar was raised to the dignity of count palatine, but it was more to Reuchlin that the court physician was a learned Jew, Jehiel Loans, who perfected his intimacy with the Hebrew. His aim then was, above all things, first to study the original text of the Old Testament, and secondly to read the writings of the Cabalists. The emperor, whose life was then about to close (he died while Reuchlin was at Linz), saw here another way of gratifying the agreeable and kindly scholar, for he not only made Reuchlin a count palatine (his arms were a golden altar, from which smoke arose, with the inscription "Ara Capnionis"), but he also presented to him a very ancient Hebrew Bible, written carefully on parchment, a treasure then worth three hundred gold crowns, which is to be seen still in the library of the Grand Duke of Carlsruhe, where it is regarded as the oldest of its kind in Europe. With the knowledge imparted by Jehiel

Loans, and the actual text in which all mysteries lay hidden, Reuchlin went home enriched as much as he had been ennobled. Hebrew writing was at that time very rare, and was to be met with chiefly in the hands of Jews. At Hebrew Reuchlin laboured, collecting Hebrew books and works expounding the Cabala, whenever possible; and eventually he gave life in Germany, as Giovanni Pico di Mirandola was giving life in Italy, to the cabalistical philosophy, the great impulse to this German revival being the publication of the book on the Mirific Word. It first appeared at Basle, in the year 1495, the author's age then being forty-one. It was not published at Tubingen till 1514. The book was regarded as a miracle of heavenly wisdom. Philip Beroaldus told of the Pope's enjoyment, and wrote word also to its author that he had caused not only men of letters, but even statesmen and warriors, to betake themselves to studying the mysteries of the Cabala.

The death of Reuchlin's patron, Eberhard the elder, soon after his elevation to the rank of duke in 1495, was followed by a period of misrule in the little state. One of the first acts of Eberhard the younger was to release his favourite, a dissolute priest, named Holzinger, from the prison in which he had been kept by the good counsel of Reuchlin; and for the further discomfiture of the scholar this man was appointed chancellor over the university of Tubingen. Reuchlin of course resigned. He had been long wanted at Heidelberg, and went there to be cherished by a new patron in the Elector Palatine.

He showed, as usual, his lively energy by the establishment of a Greek chair, which the monks pronounced upon the spot to be a heresy; and by venting his wrath against Holzinger in a Latin comedy, denouncing dissolute priests, which he called *Sergius*, or the Head of the Head. It was written to be acted by the students. A Latin comedy was then a rare thing in the land; and the news that John Reuchlin had written one was noised abroad. Prudent friends counselled him to beware of such unscrupulous and powerful enemies as he would make if he attacked abuses of the priesthood; he submitted to advice, and as he was notoriously answerable for a comedy, and gossip must be satisfied, he suddenly composed a substitute for that first written. When, therefore, the day of the performance came, it was found that the Greek professor had composed a comedy against abuses in his own profession; it was a castigation of dishonest advocates. *Scenica Progymnastica* the piece was called.

After two years of misrule Eberhard the younger took its consequences; he was then deposed, and Holzinger, the monk, sent back to prison. "When the bricks are doubled, Moses comes," said Reuchlin, and returned to his old post at Tübingen. Hitherto his life of study had not been unprofitable, nor, much benefit as he received through patronage, was it a life wanting independence. "Whatever," he says¹, "I spent in learning, I acquired by teaching¹."

¹ "Nam universam stipem quam discendo impendi, docendo acquisivi." Preface to the *De Rudimentis Hebraicis*.

An anecdote of this good-humoured scholar may be here interpolated, which displays his character in half a dozen points of view. He was detained once in an inn when it was raining very heavily, and of course had his book with him. The rain had driven into the common room a large number of country-people, who were making a great noise. To quiet them Reuchlin called for a piece of chalk, and drew with it a circle on the table before which he sat. Within the circle he then drew a cross, and also within it, on the right side of the cross, he placed with great solemnity a cup of water, on the left he stuck a knife upright. Then placing a book—doubtless a Hebrew one—within the mysterious circle, he began to read, and the rustics who had gathered round him, with their mouths agape, patiently waited for the consequence of all this conjuration. The result was that Reuchlin finished comfortably the chapter he was reading without being distressed even by a whisper of disturbance.

In the year 1502 Reuchlin was elected to the post of general judge of alliance under the terms of the Suabian league. His office was to adjudicate in all matters of dispute among confederates and vassals, concerning the interests of the emperor as Archduke of Austria, the electors and princes. There was a second judge for prelates, counts, and nobles, a third for imperial cities. This post he held during eleven years; he was holding it, therefore, at the time when the young Cornelius Agrippa undertook to comment publicly at Dôle upon his book concerning the Mirific Word, Reuchlin then being fifty-

five years old, and at the summit of his fame, high, also, in the good esteem of Maximilian. Three years before this date, notwithstanding the great mass of legal business entailed on him by his judicial office, Reuchlin had, to the great help of all students, published a volume of the Rudiments of Hebrew, which included both a grammar and a dictionary¹. This book, he wrote, "cost me the greatest trouble, and a large part of my fortune²." Cornelius no doubt had learnt his Hebrew by the help of it, and was already deep in studies which a few years afterwards brought the monks of Cologne into array against Reuchlin himself, their hostility somewhat embittered by an inkling of the Latin comedy that was not to be quite suppressed. Cornelius, however, was the first to feel the power of such enemies. By the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* the monks were destined to come off much worsted from their battle against Reuchlin and the scholars who defended his fair fame. Of their fortune in the battle fought against Cornelius Agrippa it is one part of this history to tell.

Reuchlin wrote at a later period (1517) a book upon the cabalistic art. If it is written God created heaven

¹ The volume in three books, *De Rudimentis Hebraicis*, was printed by Thomas Anshelm, of Pfortzheim, in a handsome quarto of 620 pages. The prefatory address, "Ad Dionysium Fratrem suum germanum," contains a brief autobiographical sketch. Though the book is written in Latin, interspersed with Hebrew letters and words as they are discussed, the paging is inverted, so that the volume begins at the end, in Hebrew style. The last words are "Exegi monumentum ære perennius nonis Martiis Anno M.D.VI."

² *J. Reuchlin, Phorc. LL. Dr. in Septem Psalmos Pœnitentiales Hebraicos Interpretatio*, &c., in preface.

and earth, he interpreted that to mean spirit and matter, the spirit consisting of the angels and ministers by whom the ways of man are influenced. Magic, he said, dealt with evil spirits, but the true Cabala only with the good. He believed in astrology; and so, indeed, did Luther and Melancthon; Giovanni Pico di Mirandola at Florence, while adopting the Cabala, was very singular in his hostility to a belief in influences of the stars. His own faith in cabalism Reuchlin enforced thus: God, out of love to his people, has revealed the hidden mysteries to some of them, and these could find in the dead letters the living spirit. For Scripture consists of single letters, visible signs, which stand in a certain connexion with the angels, as celestial and spiritual emanations from God. By the pronunciation of the one, the others also are affected; but with a true Cabalist, who penetrates the whole connexion of the earthly with the heavenly, these signs, rightly placed in connexion with each other, are a way of putting him into immediate union with the spirits, who through that are bound to satisfy his wishes¹.

In his book called *Capnio*, or the *Mirific Word*, expounded at Dôle by Cornelius Agrippa, Reuchlin placed the Christian system in the centre of old heathen philosophies, considering many of the doctrines of Pythagoras and Plato as having been taken from, not introduced into, the wisdom of the Cabalists. The argument is stated in the form of dialogue, which is immediately preceded by a summary of its intention that may very well suffice

¹ This passage is quoted through Mayerhoff, *loc. cit.*, p. 100.

here for a summary of its contents¹: “Receive, then, in this book the argument on the Mirific Word of three philosophers, whom I have feigned to be holding such dispute among themselves as the controversies proper to their sects would occasion, as to the best elucidation of the hidden properties of sacred names. Out of which, great as they are in number and importance, occasion will at last be the more easily afforded for selecting one name that is above all names supremely mirific and beatific. And thus you may know the whole matter in brief. Sidonius, at first ascribed to the school of Epicurus, but found afterwards, *nullius jurare in verba magistri*, an unfettered philosopher, travels about to satisfy his thirst for knowledge, and after many experiences enters Suabia, where he meets in the town of Pfortzheim” (Reuchlin’s birthplace) “two philosophers — Baruch, a Jew, and Capnio” (Reuchlin himself), “a Christian, with whom he disserts upon many systems, and presently upon the knowledge itself of divine and human things, upon opinion, faith, miracles, the powers of words and figures, secret operations, and the mysteries of seals. In this way question arises concerning the sacred names and consecrated characters of all nations which have anything excellent in their philosophy, or not unworthy in their ceremonies; an enumeration of symbols is made by each speaker zealously on behalf of the rites cherished in his sect, until at last

¹ *Johannis Reuchlin, Phorcen. LL. Doctoris de Verbo Mirifici. Libri Tres.* Ed. Coloniae, 1532, fol. A iiii.

Capnio, in the third book, collects out of all that is holy one name, Jehosua, in which is gathered up the virtue and power of all sacred things, and which is eternally, supremely blessed."

Here was a vast theme for the oratory of a youth of twenty-three, and it was one also that enabled him to display the whole range of his learning. The newly recovered treasures of Greek literature; the study of Plato, that had lately been revived by Marsilius Ficinus in Italy; the study of Aristotle, urged and helped in France by Faber Stapulensis (d'Etaples), appeared to bring the fullest confirmation of the principles of the Cabala to men ignorant, as all were then, of the Greek source of more than half the later mysticism of the Hebrews, which attributed to itself an origin so ancient. That he had acquired so early in his life Hebrew and Greek lore, that he was deeply read in studies which were admired from afar only by so many scholars of his day, and, thus prepared, that he discussed mysteries about which men in all ages feel instinctive curiosity, and men in that age reasoned eagerly, would alone account sufficiently for the attention paid to the young German by the university of Dôle. Moreover, while fulfilling his own private purpose, he appealed also to the loyalty of the Burgundians, by delivering his orations to all comers gratuitously, for the honour of the Princess Margaret, their ruler, and opening them with her panegyric. The young orator being also remarkable for an effective manner of delivery, the grave and learned

men who came to his prelections honoured him by diligent attendance.¹ The exposition was made from the pulpit of the gymnasium, before the parliament and magistracy of Dôle, the professors and the readers of the university. Simon Vernet, vice-chancellor of the university, dean of the church, and doctor in each faculty, was not once absent. The worthy vice-chancellor, or dean, appears, indeed, to have taken an especial interest in the fame of their visitor. He had himself a taste for public declamation, and to a friend who was urging on Cornelius that he should seek durable fame rather by written than by spoken words, expressed a contrary desire on his behalf. He preferred orator to author². When Cornelius had complied with the request of another friend, who wished to translate into the vernacular his panegyric upon Margaret, praising his oratory for the perfect fitness of each word employed in it, and its complete freedom from verbiage, and desiring that through a translation the illustrious princess might be informed how famously Cornelius had spoken in her honour, and so be the more disposed to reward him with her favour, the translation came back with a note, saying that the vice-chancellor had been its censor and corrector³. Vernet was diligent, in fact, on the young scholar's behalf, and his interests were seconded by the Archbishop of Besançon. Not a syllable was whispered about heresy. The friend who urged Cornelius, in spite of the dean's

¹ Libellus *De Nobilitate et Præc. Fæm. Sex.* in preface. The same authority covers the next fact or two.

² Ep. 18. Lib. i. p. 698.

³ Ep. 16. Lib. i. p. 697.

contrary counsel, to become an author, gave a familiar example from his own experience of the vanity of spoken words. He had declaimed publicly from memory, and without one hitch, upwards of two thousand two hundred verses of his own composition, yet, because they were not printed, earned only a temporary local fame. Of the value of the written word evidence very soon afterwards was enclosed to Cornelius by that other friend who had translated his oration. Zealous to do good service, he had caused a copy of the panegyric to proceed, by way of Lyons, on the road to royal notice, and delighted the aspirant after patronage by enclosing to him flatteries from John Perreal, a royal chamberlain¹, probably the same learned Frenchman who became known twenty or more years later as *Johannis Perellus*, translated into Latin *Gaza* on the Attic Months, and wrote a book about the Epacts of the Moon.

To the youth flushed with triumph as a scholar there came also reminders of the military life he was so ready to forsake. A correspondent sent him news of a defeat of the Venetians by the French, near Agnadello, the first fruits of the discreditable league of Cambray. The French, it will be remembered, won this victory while Maximilian, their new ally, was still perplexed by the dissatisfaction of his subjects evidenced during the late diet at Worms. Agrippa's friend wished to have in return for his news any knowledge that his relation to the emperor might

¹ Ep. 18. Lib. i. p. 698.

give him of intentions that might be disclosed at an approaching diet¹. His real intentions were to break a pledge by marching against the Venetians; his fate, to retire ere long, defeated, from before the walls of Padua. He was renewing with his enemy, the King of France, the treaty of Cambray, and sending a messenger to Spire to burn the book in which he had recorded all the injuries and insults suffered by his family, or empire, at the hands of France. Cornelius cared little for France or Padua; his hopes as a scholar were with Margaret at Ghent, though she, too, being another member of the league, could have employed him as a soldier. Other hopes, as a man, he was directing towards a younger and a fairer mistress. He desired not only to prosper but to marry.

The little university of Dôle favoured the young man heartily. His prelections had excited great attention, and procured for him the admiration of the neighbourhood. From the university they won for him at once the degree of doctor in divinity, together with a stipend².

¹ Ep. 19. Lib. i. p. 699.

² *Defensio Propositionum de Beatae Annae Monogamiâ, &c.* Op. Tom. ii. p. 596.

CHAPTER VI.

CORNELIUS AGRIPPA WRITES A TREATISE TO PROVE WOMAN THE BETTER
HALF OF MAN—IN THE SAME YEAR HE TAKES A WIFE.

ANGLING for private patronage was in the sixteenth century correlative to the habit not very uncommon in these days of using baits to catch the public favour. Men who once lived by the help of princes now owe their support to the whole people, and the pains bestowed upon a cultivation of the good-will of the people in these days are neither less nor more to be reprehended than the pains taken by scholars of past time to procure a safe means of subsistence through the good-will of a prince. It may be said, with a fair approximation to the truth, that as much as a man may do now with the intention of deserving popularity, and not discredit himself in his own eyes or those of the great number of his neighbours, he might have done with as little discredit in the sixteenth century with the design of earning favour from the great. We have seen how, in the case of Reuchlin, a poor chorister was fostered at first by small princes of Germany, afterwards even by the emperor, and enabled to develop into a great Hebrew scholar, when one patron died having

another ready to befriend him, and enjoying dignity and wealth with a complete sense of independence. That age was, in fact, as far removed as this is from the transition period, during which the patronage of letters by the great, extinct as a necessity, survived as a tradition, and the system that had once been vigorous and noble became imbecile and base.

Nobody at Dôle was ignorant that the design of Cornelius Agrippa was to earn the patronage of Margaret, a liberal encourager of learning. Nobody considered it dishonourable to seek this by showing that it was deserved. The prevalent feeling was so far removed from any such impression, that from many quarters the young man was urged to magnify his claim on Margaret's attention by devoting not only the orations, but also some piece of writing to her honour. Even the cordial vice-chancellor, desirous to advance the interests of the young orator, set aside his predilection for the spoken word, and was among the foremost in admonishing Cornelius to write. Not slow to profit by advice that ran the same course with his inclinations, the new Doctor of Divinity set himself to display his powers as a theologian in the true manner of the day, and with theological acuteness to combine a courtier's tact, by dedicating to the most conspicuous example of his argument a treatise on the Nobility and Pre-excellence of the Female Sex. As I have hinted, too, there was a private example of it known to his own heart.

Before following him into this new field of study, there is a private letter to be read—a letter of recommendation

sent from a friend of Cornelius at Châlon, one of the mystical brethren perhaps, by a servant of the person recommended¹.

“The bearer of these is the page of a certain nobleman in Châlon, sent to fetch you hither, because his master is in want of help and counsel: he is rich, and does not spare his money. I have warned you of this for your gain’s sake: but just attend to what counsel I wish to give you on this subject, for I desire to promote equally your honour and profit. If, then, you can come handsomely dressed, so come, it will bring you trust and advantage” (perhaps the young scholar was a little negligent of his attire), “for you are not ignorant how much respect and confidence is put on, if I may say so, with a comely garment, especially in the opinion of those purblind people who see only outsides of men. And if you come directly you are wanted it will be much to your hurt: therefore dissemble if you can, make excuses, put off your coming to another time: meanwhile I will promote your interests. But if this nobleman, more greedy to have you, goes to Dôle for you himself, mind this, that though you may know everything, be able to do everything,—do nothing, promise nothing, unless after reiterated urging. Only let yourself be forced to receive favours. Even if you are in want of anything, dissemble the want. The man grows warm, and when the iron glows is the right time for striking. Understand these matters secretly, the affair is yours, the counsel yours; you

¹ Ep. 20. Lib. i. p. 699.

hold the reins of your own fortune. I will not be wanting to you with my help as the occasion serves. Farewell."

Angling for patronage shown from another point of view!—mean arts used by mean spirits to compel the favour of the rich and base. But to secure the favour of the rich and noble the arts used were not to be accounted mean.

Now let us trace in a brief summary the argument for the Nobility of the Female Sex and the Superiority of Woman over Man, written at Dôle, in the year 1509, by a Doctor of Divinity, aged twenty-three¹. He sets out with the declaration that when man was created male and female, difference was made in the flesh, not in the soul. He quotes Scripture to show that after the corruption of our bodies difference of sex will disappear, and that we shall all be like angels in the resurrection. As to soul, then, man and woman are alike; but as to everything else the woman is the better part of the creation.

In the first place, woman being made better than man, received the better name. Man was called Adam, which means Earth; woman Eva, which is by interpretation Life. By as much as life excels earth woman therefore excels man. And this, it is urged, must not be thought trivial reasoning, because the Maker of those creatures knew what they were before He named them,

¹ *Henrici Cornelii Agrippæ de Nobilitate et Præcellentia Fæminei Sexus, ad Margaretam Augustam Austriacorum et Burgundionum Principem, &c. &c. An. M.D.XXXII. Mense Maio.* The outline is made from this, the first, edition. The publication of the work was delayed for reasons that will afterwards appear.

and was One who could not err in properly describing each. We know, and the Roman laws testify, that ancient names were always consonant with the things they represented, and names have been held always to be of great moment by theologians and jurisconsults. It is written thus of Nabal: "As his name is, so is he; Nabal is his name, and folly is with him." (1 Samuel, xxv. 25.) Saint Paul, also, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, speaks of his Lord and Master, as "made so much better than the angels, as he hath obtained a more excellent name than they." (Heb. i. 4.) The reader's memory will at once supply the next passage of Scripture quoted, I do not like to cite it. Agrippa then dilates, as well he may, on the immense importance of words, according to the practice of all jurists; he tells how Cyprian argued against the Jews that Adam's name was derived from the initials of the Greek words meaning east, west, north, and south: *ἀνατολῇ, δὺσις, ἄρκτις, μεσίμβριος*, because his flesh was made out of the earth, though that derivation was at variance with Moses, who put only three letters in the Hebrew name. For this, however, adds Agrippa, Cyprian was not to blame, since, like many saints and expounders of the sacred text, he had not learnt the Hebrew language.

Upon the word Eva it is further maintained that it suggests comparison with the mystic symbols of the Cabalists, the name of the woman having affinity with the ineffable Tetragrammaton, the most sacred name of the Divinity; while that of the man differed entirely from it.

All these considerations, however, Agrippa consents to pass over, as matters read by few and understood by fewer. The pre-eminence of the woman can be proved out of her constitution, her gifts, and her merits.

The nature of woman is discussed, however, from the theologian's point of view. Things were created in the order of their rank. First, indeed, incorruptible soul, then incorruptible matter, but afterwards, out of that matter, more or less corruptible things, beginning with the meanest. First minerals, then herbs, and shrubs and trees, then zoophytes, then brutes in their order, reptiles first, afterwards fishes, birds, quadrupeds. Lastly, two human beings, but of these first the male, and finally the female, in which the heavens and the earth and their whole adornment were perfected. The divine rest followed, because the work was consummated, nothing greater was conceived ; the woman was thus left the most perfect and the noblest of the creatures upon earth, as a queen placed in the court that had been previously prepared for her. Rightly, therefore, do all beings round about her pay to this queen homage of reverence and love.

The difference between the woman and the man is yet more strongly marked, says the deeply read theologian, because the man was made like the brutes in open land outside the gates of paradise, and made wholly of clay, but the woman was made afterwards in paradise itself; she was the one paradisaical creation. Presently there follow Scripture arguments to show that the place of their birth was a sign to men of honour or dishonour. The

woman, too, was not made of clay, but from an influx of celestial matter ; since there went into her composition nothing terrestrial except only one of Adam's ribs, and that was not gross clay, but clay that had been already purified and kindled with the breath of life.

The theological demonstrations Cornelius next confirms by the evidence of some natural facts equally cogent and trustworthy, which were held in that day by many wise men to be equally true. It is because she is made of purer matter that a woman, from whatever height she may look down, never turns giddy, and her eyes never have mist before them like the eyes of men. Moreover, if a woman and man tumble together into water, far away from all external help, the woman floats long upon the surface, but the man soon sinks to the bottom. Is there not also the divine light shining through the body of the woman, by which she is made often to seem a miracle of beauty. Then follows a clever inventory of all a woman's charms of person, written with due reserve, which might be here translated, if the English language had the terseness of the Latin. In short, woman is the sum of all earth's beauty, and it is proved that her beauty has sometimes inspired even angels and demons with a desperate and fatal love. Then follows a chain of Scripture texts honouring female beauty, which all lead up to the twenty thousand virgins, solemnly celebrated by the church, and the admiration of the beauty of the Virgin Mary by the sun and moon.

Texts follow that must be omitted, and then the argu-

ment takes anatomical grounds of the most ingenious character, and hows how every difference of structure between the man and the woman gives to woman the advantage due to her superior delicacy. Even after death nature respects her inherent modesty, for a drowned woman floats on her face, and a drowned man upon his back. The noblest part of a human being is the head; but the man's head is liable to baldness, woman is never seen bald. The man's face is often made so filthy by a most odious beard, and so covered with sordid hairs, that it is scarcely to be distinguished from the face of a wild beast; in women, on the other hand, the face always remains pure and decent. For this reason women were, by the laws of the twelve tables, forbidden to rub their cheeks lest hair should grow and obscure their blushing modesty. But the most evident proof of the innate purity of the female sex is, that a woman having once washed is clean, and if she wash in second water will not soil it; but that a man is never clean, though he should wash in ten successive waters, he will cloud and infect them all.

Some other marvellous peculiarities I must omit, and pass to Agrippa's appreciation of the woman's predominance in the possession of the gift of speech, the most excellent of human faculties, which Hermes Trismegistus thought equal to immortality in value, and Hesiod pronounced the best of human treasures. Man, too, receives this gift from woman, from his mother or his nurse; and it is a gift bestowed upon woman herself with such libe-

ality that the world has scarcely seen a woman who was mute. Is it not fit that women should excel men in that faculty, wherein men themselves chiefly excel the brutes?

The argument again becomes an edifice of Scripture text, and it is well to show the nature of it, though we may shrink from the misuse of sacred words, because it is well thoroughly to understand how Scripture was habitually used by professed theologians in the sixteenth century, and from this light example to derive a grave lesson, perhaps, that may be, even to the people of the nineteenth century, not wholly useless.

Solomon's texts on the surpassing excellence of a good woman of course are cited, and a cabalistic hint is given of the efficacy of the letter H, which Abram took away from his wife Sarah, and put into the middle of his own name, after he had been blessed through her. Benediction has come always by woman, law by man. We have all sinned in Adam, not in Eve; original sin we inherit only from the father of our race. The fruit of the tree of knowledge was forbidden to man only, before woman was made; woman received no injunction, she was created free. She was not blamed, therefore, for eating, but for causing sin in her husband by giving him to eat; and she did that not of her own will, but because the devil tempted her. He chose her as the object of temptation, as St. Bernard says, because he saw with envy that she was the most perfect of creatures. She erred in ignorance because she was deceived; the man sinned knowingly. Therefore our Lord made atonement in the figure of the sex that had

sinned, and also for more complete humiliation came in the form of a man, not that of a woman, which is nobler and sublimer. He humbled himself as man, but overcame as a descendant of the woman; for the seed of the woman, it was said, not the seed of man, should bruise the serpent's head. He would not, therefore, be born of a man; woman alone was judged worthy to be the earthly parent of the Deity. Risen again, he appeared first to women. Men forsook him, women never. No persecution, heresy, or error in the Church ever began with the female sex. They were men who betrayed, sold, bought, accused, condemned, mocked, crucified the Lord. Peter denied him, his disciples left him. Women were at the foot of the cross, women were at the sepulchre. Even Pilate's wife, who was a heathen, made more effort to save Jesus than any man among believers. Finally, do not almost all theologians assert that the Church is maintained by the Virgin Mary?

Aristotle may say that of all animals the males are stronger and wiser than the females, but St. Paul writes that weak things have been chosen to confound the strong. Adam was sublimely endowed, but woman humbled him; Samson was strong, but woman made him captive; Lot was chaste, but woman seduced him; David was religious, but woman disturbed his piety; Solomon was wise, but woman deceived him; Job was patient, and was robbed by the devil of fortune and family; ulcerated, grieved, oppressed, nothing provoked him to anger till a woman did it, therein proving herself stronger than the devil.

Peter was fervent in faith, but woman forced him to deny his lord. Somebody may remark that all these illustrations tend to woman's shame, not to her glory, Woman, however, may reply to man as Innocent III. wrote to some cardinal, "If one of us is to be confounded, I prefer that it be you." Civil law allows a woman to consult her own gain to another's hurt; and does not Scripture itself often extol and bless the evil deeds of the woman more than the good deeds of the man. Is not Rachel praised who deceived her father? Rebecca, because she obtained fraudulently Jacob's benediction? Is not the deceit of Rahab imputed to her as justice? Was not Jael blessed among women for a treacherous and cruel deed? What could be more iniquitous than the counsel of Judith? what more cruel than her wiles? what worse than her perfidy? Yet for this she is blessed, lauded, and extolled in Scripture, and the woman's iniquity is reputed better than the goodness of the man. Was not Cain's a good work when he offered his best fruits in sacrifice and was reprov'd for it? Did not Esau well when he hunted to get venison for his old father, and in the mean time was defrauded of his birthright, and incurred the divine hate? Other examples are adduced, and robust scholars, ingenious theologians, are defied to find an equal amount of evidence in support of the contrary thesis, that the iniquity of the man is better than the goodness of the woman. Such a thesis, says Agrippa, could not be defended.

From this point to the end Agrippa's treatise consists of a mass of illustrations from profane and Scripture

history, classified roughly. Some are from natural history. The queen of all birds, he says, is the eagle, always of the female sex, for no male eagles have been found. The phoenix is a female always. On the other hand, the most pestilent of serpents, called the basilisk, exists only as a male; it is impossible for it to hatch a female.

All evil things began with men, and few or none with women. We die in the seed of Adam and live in the seed of Eve. The beginning of envy, the first homicide, the first parricide, the first despair of divine mercy was with man; Lamech was the first bigamist, Noah was the first drunkard, Nimrod the first tyrant, and so forth. Men were the first to league themselves with demons and discover profane hearts. Men have been incontinent, and had, in innumerable instances, to each man many wives at once; but women have been continent, each content with a single husband, except only Bathsheba. Many women are then cited as illustrations of their sex in this respect, or for their filial piety, including Abigail, Lucretia, Cato's wife, and the mother of the Gracchi, the vestal Claudia, Iphigenia. If any one opposes to such women the wives of Zoilus, Samson, Jason, Deiphobus, and Agamemnon, it may be answered that these have been unjustly accused, that no good man ever had a bad wife. Only bad husbands get bad wives, or if they get a good one, are sometimes able to corrupt her excellence. If women made the laws, and wrote the histories and tragedies, could they not justly crowd them with testimony to the wickedness of men. Our prisons are full of men, and slain men

cumber the earth everywhere, but women are the beginners of all liberal arts, of virtue, and beneficence. Therefore the arts and virtues commonly have feminine names. Even the corners of the world receive their names from women: the nymph Asia; Europa, the daughter of Agenior; Lybia, the daughter of Epaphus, who is called also Aphrica.

Illustrations follow of the pre-eminence of women in good gifts, and it is urged that Abraham, who by his faith was accounted just, was placed in subjection to Sarah his wife, and was told, "In all that Sarah hath said unto thee, hearken unto her voice." (Gen. xxi. 12.)

There follows a host of other illustrations of the excellence of woman, drawn from all sources; among others, illustrations of her eminence in learning. "And," adds Agrippa, "were not women now forbidden to be literary, we should at this day have most celebrated women, whose wit would surpass that of men. What is to be said upon this head, when even by nature women seem to be born easily superior to practised students in all faculties? Do not the grammarians entitle themselves masters of right speaking? Yet we learn this far better from our nurses and our mothers than from the grammarians. . . . For that reason Plato and Quintilian so solicitously urged a careful choice of children's nurses, that the children's language might be formed on the best model. Are not the poets in the invention of their whims and fables, the dialecticians in their contentious garrulity, surpassed by women? Was ever orator so good or so successful, that

a courtesan could not excel his powers of persuasion? What arithmetician by false calculation would know how to cheat a woman in the payment of a debt? What musician equals her in song and in amenity of voice? Are not philosophers, mathematicians, and astrologers often inferior to country-women in their divinations and predictions, and does not the old nurse very often beat the doctor?" Socrates himself, the wisest of men, did not disdain to receive knowledge from Aspasia, nor did Apollo the Theologian despise the teaching of Priscilla.

Then follows a fresh string of illustrations by which we are brought to a contemplation of the necessity of woman for the perpetuation of any state, and the cessation of the human race that may be consequent on her withdrawal. Through more examples we are brought then to consider the honour and precedence accorded by law and usage to the female sex. Man makes way for woman on the public road, and yields to her in society the highest places. Purple and fine linen, gold and jewels are conceded as the fit adornments of her noble person, and from the sumptuary laws of the later emperors women were excepted. Illustrations follow of the dignity and privileges of the wife, and of the immunities accorded to her by the law. Reference is made to ancient writers, who tell how, among the Getulians, the Bactrians, and others, men were the softer sex, and sat at home while women laboured in the fields, built houses, transacted business, rode abroad, and went out to do battle. Among the Cantabrians men brought dowries to their wives, brothers were given in

marriage by their sisters, and the daughters of a household were the heirs. Among the Scythians, Thracians, and Gauls, women possessed their rights, but among us, said Agrippa, "the tyranny of men prevailing over divine right and the laws of nature, slays by law the liberty of woman, abolishes it by use and custom, extinguishes it by education. For the woman, as soon as she is born, is from her earliest years detained at home in idleness, and as if destitute of capacity for higher occupations, is permitted to conceive of nothing beyond needle and thread. Then when she has attained years of puberty she is delivered over to the jealous empire of a man, or shut up for ever in a shop of vestals. The law also forbids her to fill public offices. No prudence entitles her to plead in open court." A list follows of the chief disabilities of women, "who are treated by the men as conquered by the conquerors, not by any divine necessity, for any reason, but according to custom, education, fortune, and the tyrant's opportunity."

A few leading objections are then answered. Eve was indeed made subject to man after the fall, but that curse was removed when man was saved. Paul says that "Wives are to be subject to their husbands, and women to be silent in the church," but he spoke of temporal church discipline, and did not utter a divine law, since "in Christ there is neither male nor female, but a new creature." We are again reminded of the text subjecting Abraham to Sarah, and the treatise closes then with a short recapitulation of its heads. "We have shown," Agrippa says, "the pre-eminence of the female sex by its name, its

order and place of creation, the material of which it was created, and the dignity that was given to woman over man by God, then by religion, by nature, by human laws, by various authority, by reason, and have demonstrated all this by promiscuous examples. Yet we have not said so many things but that we have left more still to be said, because I came to the writing of this not moved by ambition, or for the sake of bringing myself praise, but for the sake of duty and truth, lest, like a sacrilegious person, I might seem, if I were silent, by an impious taciturnity (and as it were a burying of my talent) to refuse the praises due to so devout a sex. So that if any one more curious than I am should discover any argument which he thinks requisite to be added to this work, let him expect to have his position not contested by me, but attested, in as far as he is able to carry on this good work of mine with his own genius and learning. And that this work itself may not become too large a volume, here let it end."

Such was the treatise written by Cornelius at Dôle for the more perfect propitiation of the Princess Margaret. Many years elapsed before it was printed and presented to the princess; doubtless, however, the youth read the manuscript to his betrothed very soon after it was written. Towards the close of the year a friend in Cologne wrote to Agrippa of the impatience of his parents for their son's return, but at the close of November another friend in Cologne, Theodoric, Bishop of Cyrene, asking as an especial favour for his views upon judicial astrology so hotly

opposed by Pic di Mirandola, says that his expressions on the subject had appeared to him ambiguous when they conversed together¹. Probably he had then been offering to the embrace of his parents not a son only, but a son and daughter, for it is said to have been in the year 1509, when all was honour for him in the present, all hope in the future, that Cornelius von Nettesheim married Jane Louisa Tyssie², of Geneva, a maiden equal to him in rank, remarkable for beauty, and yet more remarkable for her aspirations and her worth. She entered with her whole soul into the spirit of her husband's life, rejoiced in his ambition, and knew how to hold high converse with his friends³. The marriage was in every respect a happy one; there was a world of gentleness and loving kindness in Agrippa's heart. We shall have revelation of it as the narrative proceeds. The tenderness of his nature mingles strangely, sadly, with his restlessness, his self-reliance, and his pride.

So, full of hope and happiness, at the age of twenty-three, he took to wife a maiden who could love him for his kindliness, and reverence him for his power. He was no needy adventurer, but the son of a noble house, who was beginning, as it seemed, the achievement of the highest honours. He was surrounded by admirers, already a doctor of divinity, hereafter to attain he knew not what. Fostered by Maximilian's daughter, what might not his intellect achieve?

¹ Ep. 21. Lib. i. p. 700.

² Thevet. *Portraits et Vies des Hommes Illustres* (ed. Paris, 1584), Tom. ii. p. 542. "Il espousa Mademoiselle Louyse Tyssie, issue de fort noble maison, l'an de son aage vingt et trois, et de salut, mil cinq cens et neuf."

³ She is made in this character the subject of verses by Agrippa's friends.

Poor boy, even in that year of hope the blight was already settling on his life! While he was writing praise of womanhood at Dôle to win the smiles of Margaret, Catilinet, a Franciscan friar¹, who had been at the adjacent town of Gray when Reuchlin was expounded, meditated cruel vengeance on the down-chinned scholar. At Ghent, as preacher before the Regent of the Netherlands and all her court, Catilinet was to deliver in the Easter following the Quadragesimal Discourses. Against the impious Cabalist he was preparing to arouse the wrath of Margaret during those same days which were spent by the young student in pleasant effort to deserve her kindness.

¹ *Expost. contra Catilinet*, and Preface to the *De Nob. et Præc. F. S.*

CHAPTER VII.

CORNELIUS AGRIPPA WRITES THREE BOOKS OF MAGIC—AN ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPLES OF MAGIC CONTAINED IN THE FIRST OF THEM.

STILL in the year 1509 and in the first months of the year 1510, in that year of activity, twenty-third only of his life, which set a stamp upon his subsequent career, and is the most important date in this biography, Cornelius Agrippa, with the courage of youth and the ambition of youth, compiled into a system all the lore he had been gathering, and wrote his Books of Magic¹. Magical studies were for the most part discouraged in those days, not by enlightened scepticism, but by ignorant credulity and superstitious fear. Only a few men of that age had stepped very far in intellect before their time, and to the number of these Cornelius did not belong. But the part of his own time which he represented (I leave out of account its foremost pioneers) was certainly the best part. Truth was better served, the right of free

¹ They had not only been submitted to the Abbot Trittenheim, but had been read and were criticised by him on the 8th of April, 1510, in a letter which is both included in the correspondence and prefixed to all editions of the work itself.

inquiry was more manfully asserted, by the writing of those books, which seem to us so full of error and absurdity, than by that spirit in the priests and in the populace which caused the writer of them to be looked upon with a vague dread and with aversion.

We must know now what the young man wrote, and in what spirit it was written. To a comprehension of the meaning of Agrippa's life, and to a just opinion of his right place in the history of literature, a careful survey of these books of magic is essential. In this chapter, therefore, and in the three chapters which succeed it, an attempt is made to represent them, of course very much reduced in scale, but still with enough fulness of detail to suggest their scope and spirit. Such a sketch, too, may not be without an adventitious use, by showing how much wisdom may have once gone to the begetting of ideas for which even the ignorant are now either pitied or reviled; that it is man's reason of yesterday which has become his superstition of to-day.

Before passing to the following scheme of Cornelius Agrippa's Treatise upon Magic, as representing, at the period of his life which we have now reached, an important feature in its author's mind, it may be well to say, that we must imagine ourselves looking over it as it lies finished on its author's desk. It is, in the years 1509-10, a manuscript and not a book¹.

¹ There were translations into most languages of these Books of Occult Science within the century and a half succeeding their first publication. The best of the English translations (*Three Books of Occult Philosophy, written by Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim, Counsellor to Charles the Fifth,*

Every inferior is governed by its superior, and receives, transmitted through it, the influence of the First Cause of all. There is a threefold world—an elementary, a celestial, and an intellectual—and these three parts of the universe Cornelius intends to treat in his Three Books of Magic. Wise men conceive it in no way irrational to ascend by degrees through each world to the Author of All Worlds, and not only to admire the more exalted things, but to draw down their virtues from above. They search, therefore, the powers of the elementary world, by studying physics and the many combinations of things natural; they inquire into the harmonies of the celestial world, by studying the mysteries of numbers and proportion, and applying to a contemplation of the stars the rules discovered by astrologers. Finally, they ratify and confirm this knowledge by a study of the intelligences working in the world, and of the sacred mysteries. Upon these matters Cornelius says that he intends to treat. “I know not,” he adds, “whether it be an unpardonable presumption in me, that I, a man of so little judgment and learning, should, in my very youth, set upon a business so difficult, so hard, and intricate, as this is. Wherefore, whatsoever things have here been already,

Emperor of Germany, and Judge of the Prerogative Court. Translated by J. F. London, 1651.) is not very complete, and contains numerous blunders; but I have had it before me while making the succeeding abstract, and, as far as the sense allowed, when using Agrippa's words, have often made use of its old-fashioned phraseology. The first Book of Occult Science was issued before the rest, and it is to the first edition of it (*Henrici Cor. Agrippæ ab Nettesheym a Consiliis et Archivis Inditiarii sacræ Cæsareæ Majestatis. De Occulta Philosophia Libri Tres* (ending suddenly at Book I.). Antwerp, Joan. Graphæus, February, 1531) that succeeding notes refer.

and shall afterwards be said by me, I would not have any one assent to them, nor shall I myself, any further than they shall not suffer reprobation of the universal Church and congregation of the faithful¹."

In the second chapter, Magic is defined and lauded as the whole knowledge of nature, the perfection of all true philosophy. For there is no regular philosophy that is not natural, mathematical, or theological, one teaching the nature of those things that are in the world, another teaching the quantity of bodies in their three dimensions, and the motion of celestial bodies, and the last teaching what God is, what the mind, what an intelligence, what an angel, what a devil, what a soul, what religion, what sacred rites and mysteries, instructing us, also, concerning faith, miracles, the virtues of words and figures, the secret operations and mysteries of seals. These three principal faculties Natural Magic joins and comprehends; there is no true magic apart from any one. Therefore, this was esteemed by the ancients as the highest and most sacred philosophy. Cornelius cites a roll of names, and adds, "It is well known that Pythagoras and Plato went to the prophets of Memphis to learn it, and travelled through almost all Syria, Egypt, Judæa, and the schools of the Chaldeans, that they might not be ignorant of the most sacred memorials and records of magic, as also that they might be imbued with divine things²."

¹ *De Occ. Phil.* ed. cit. ad fin. cap. i. B. (Pagination is by the lettering of sheets.)

² *Ibid.* ed. cit. B 2.

The next four chapters, of which two are general and two are special, open the discussion upon natural philosophy with an account of the four elements, Fire, Earth, Water, Air, whereof by transmutation and union all inferior bodies are compounded. None of the sensible elements are pure, but more or less mixed, and they are convertible into each other; thus earth being dissolved produces water, which being evaporated becomes air, and kindled air is fire, and out of fire may come earth or stone, as is proved in the case of thunderbolts. Between the four elements there are many relations of likeness and unlikeness. Thus fire is hot and dry, earth is dry and cold, water is cold and moist, air is moist and hot; so that only fire and water, earth and air, are perfect contraries. Plato assigns to each three qualities: as to the fire, brightness, thinness, motion; to the earth darkness, thickness, quietness; to the others other combinations of these qualities, while by them all these qualities are possessed in contrasted proportions.

But beyond such necessary considerations, not less necessary is a knowledge of the fact that there are three separate states in which the elements exist. First, they are pure, distinct, and incorruptible, in which state they are the secondary causes of all natural operations. Secondly, they are compounded and impure, but capable of being resolved by art into their perfect form. Thirdly, they are elements that were from the beginning interchangeable and twice compounded. They are in this last form known as the infallible medium, or soul of middle nature, through which proceed all bindings, loosings, transmutations, and

which are operative in all mysteries both mundane and divine.

We treat now separately of the power of each element.

Fire, it will be found, is spread abroad in the heavens, and the heat of it is sensible in the water and the earth. In itself it is one, but in that which receives it manifold. Whatever lives, lives by reason of the enclosed heat. The infernal fire parches and makes barren; the celestial fire drives away spirits of darkness, and our customary fire of wood drives them away, because it is the vehicle of that superior light, and comes through it from the Father of Lights. As, therefore, the spirits of darkness are stronger in the dark, so good spirits are more powerful in the light, not only of the sun, but of our common fire. Therefore it was ordained, by the first ceremonies of religion, that there should be lighted candles or torches wherever worship was performed, and hence the symbol of Pythagoras, You must not speak of God without a light¹. Also for the driving away of evil spirits fires were kindled near the corpses of the dead; and the great Jehovah himself commanded that with fire all sacrifices should be offered.

But in the earth are the seeds of all things. Take as much of it as you please, wash it, purify it, let it lie in the open air, and it will, being full of heavenly virtues, of itself produce plants, worms and living things, stones and bright sparks of metal. If at any time earth shall be purified by fire, and reduced by a convenient washing to

¹ *De Occ. Phil.* ed. cit. C.

simplicity, it is the first matter of our creation, and the truest medicine that can restore or preserve us.

Water is the seminary virtue of all things. Only earth and water, Moses teaches, can bring forth a living soul; and Scripture testifies that herbs did not at first grow, because God had not caused it to rain upon the earth. Such is the efficacy of this element of water, that without it spiritual regeneration cannot be accomplished; very great, also, is the virtue of it, when it has been consecrated to religious worship.

Air is a vital spirit passing through all beings, filling, binding, moving. The Hebrew doctors, therefore, reckon it not as an element, but count it as a medium, or glue, joining all things together, or as the resonant spirit of the world's instrument. It receives into itself the influences of celestial bodies, and transmits them readily. As a divine mirror, it receives into itself the images of all things, and retains them. Carrying them with it, and entering into the bodies of men and other animals through their pores, as well when they sleep as when they wake, it furnishes the matter for strange dreams and divinations. Hence they say it is, that a person passing by the spot whereon a man was slain, or where the carcase has been recently concealed, is moved with fear and dread; because the air in that place being full of the dreadful image of manslaughter, doth, being breathed in, move and trouble the spirit of the passer-by with the like image, whence it is that he comes to be afraid. For by everything that makes a sudden impression nature is astonished. By the natural

images of trees and castles formed on clouds, by the rainbow, and by a strange way of reflecting writing back into the sky, together with a moonbeam falling on it, as well as by a reference to the echo, these matters are further illustrated. Of air in motion, or the winds, Agrippa speaks next, using chiefly the poetical descriptions to be found in Ovid, for these early writings of his are embellished liberally with quotations from the poets.

After the four elements there come to be discussed the four kinds of perfect compounds¹ generated by them: stones, metals, plants, and animals. Though each contains all four, in each one element predominates: earth in the stone, water in metals (as chemists find to be true, who declare that they are generated by a viscous water, or waterish quicksilver); with air plants have so much affinity, that unless they be abroad in it they give no increase, and fire is not less natural to animals. Then in each, according to its kind, and even in parts of each, the degrees of preponderance are varied. Thus in plants the roots resemble the earth, by reason of their thickness, and the leaves water, because of their juice; flowers the air, because of their subtilty, and the seeds the fire, by reason of their multiplying spirit. In animals the bones resemble the earth, flesh the air, the vital spirit fire, the humours water. Nay, even in the soul itself, according to Augustine, the understanding will resemble fire, reason the air, imagination water, and the senses earth. The senses, too, are so divisible; for the sight is fiery, acting only by the help of

¹ *De Occ. Phil.* ed. cit. cap. vii.

fire and light; the hearing is airy, for a sound is made by striking of the air; the smell and taste resemble water, for they act not without moisture; and lastly, the feeling is wholly earthy, taking gross bodies for its object. So, too, with man's character, for as the elements are the first of all things, so all things are of and according to them, and they are in all things, and diffuse their virtues through them.

For, in the exemplary as in the corporeal world, by the consent of Platonists, all things are in all. The elements are to be found everywhere, here feculent and gross, in celestials more pure and clear, but in super-celestials living and blessed. There are earthy, fiery, watery, airy angels, devils, stars; the elements exist, also, in the Great Source of all.

The first or secondary qualities of things, natural, elementary, or mixed, depend immediately upon the first virtues of the elements contained in them, or the proportion of their mixture¹.

But there are in all things occult virtues², and the consideration of these opens up a new division of the subject. For the occult virtue does not proceed from any element, but is a sequel of its species and form; so that, unlike the operation of an element, its being little in quantity (hear this, all homœopathists!) is of great efficacy, because these virtues, having much form and little matter, can do much; but an elementary virtue, having much materiality, requires more matter for its

¹ *De Occ. Phil.* ed. cit. cap. ix.

² *Ibid.* cap. x.

acting. The universe abounds in examples of these qualities, called occult, because their causes lie beyond the reach of human intellect; philosophers attain to them by the help of experience alone. Thus, in the stomach the meat is digested by heat, which we know; but it is changed also by a secret virtue which we know not; for truly it is not changed by heat, because then it should rather be changed by the fireside than in the stomach. To this class belong, therefore, all accredited marvels which are past all ordinary comprehension. There was no lack of them when Cornelius Agrippa wrote, and it is hard to see how, without some such theory as this of occult powers, any rational attempt could be made to bring them into harmony with other knowledge. For we are, by this time, well assured that nothing is incredible by reason of its being marvellous; we call things incredible only when they oppose themselves to what we know to be the universal laws. When those laws remained yet for the most part undiscovered, and the eyes of students, dazzled by the newly-opened glories of Greek literature, had no means of perceiving that its science was less ripe than its philosophy, and that its philosophy was not as perfect as they knew its poetry to be, it was impossible to refuse credence to records left by the Greek sages, of their wide experience or knowledge. Nothing was yet known to refute their theories, and the wisest man could, as a mere scholar, do no more, till the old records of experience were practically tested by a generation or two, and found wanting, than accept the au-

thority of Plato, Aristotle, and bring their opinions into harmony with those then held to be indisputable by the Christian world. If it was right to make any attempt at all to form what was then known or believed of the universe into a comprehensive and coherent system, there was no better way of doing it than this.

At the basis of the theory of occult virtues, as stated by Cornelius Agrippa, lies the Platonic¹ notion of superior ideas. Everything below has a celestial pattern, and receives from its own idea operative powers through the

¹ Many parts of this philosophy are modifications of the doctrine to be found in the *Timæus*. The basis of the next following assertions, for example, may be found in the twelfth and thirteenth chapters of that exposition of the views of Plato on the constitution of the physical world; still more distinctly, however, in that later treatise on *The Soul of the World and Nature*, which its writer founded upon the *Timæus* of Plato, and palmed on the old philosopher himself, Timæus the Locrian. In Cornelius Agrippa's time this treatise of Timæus the Locrian was considered genuine, and it had been at least twice within ten years translated into Latin. Pliny's *Natural History*, the translated *De Mundo Liber*, and some of the other works of Apuleius, contain more of the doctrine and opinion expressed by Agrippa; and he had read the most famous of the Alexandrian Platonics, constantly quoting Plotinus, Porphyry, and Iamblichus, but Proclus seldom. To the authorities here cited Aristotle must, of course, be added, and modifications by him of opinions cited from Plato (ὁ γενναῖος Πλάτων) and the Pythagoreans. Also the Orphic Hymns, and sundry books professing to be by disciples of Pythagoras. Also the books ascribed to the half-mythical Egyptian sage, Mercurius, or Hermes Trismegistus, of which the most important, *Poemander*, was one of the first things that came up with the revived study of Greek, a translation of it into Latin having been published at Venice by Marcilius Ficinus in 1483, and eight years afterwards reprinted. Other information was obtained from Avicenna, whose works had, in 1490, been published at Venice, translated into Latin "a Magistro Gerardo Cremonensi." Finally, it will be enough to name one only among the many later writers in whom Cornelius found congenial speculations, Albertus Magnus of Cologne, among whose works the *De Cælo et Mundo*, *De Secretis Naturæ*, *De Virtutibus Herbarum*, &c., furnished a good deal of material for these Books of Occult Science.

help of the Soul of the World. For ideas not only give rise to the thing seen, but to the virtue that is in it, and things of the same kind vary in degree of power, not through any variation in the first idea, but through the various impurities and inequalities—according to the desert—of the matter into which it is infused. And soul being the *primum mobile*, as we say, when one man acts upon another, or the loadstone on the iron, that the soul of one thing went out and went into another thing, altering it or its operations, so it is conceived that some such medium is the spirit of the world, called the quintessence, because it is not composed of the four elements, but is a fifth essence, a certain first thing which is above them and beside them. This spirit exists in the body of the world, as the human spirit in the body of a man; and as the powers of a man's soul are communicated to the members of the body by his spirit, so, through this mundane spirit or quintessence, are the powers of the soul of the world diffused through all things; and there is nothing so base that it contains not some spark of its virtue, but there is most virtue in those things wherein this spirit does most abound. It abounds in the celestial bodies, and descends in the rays of the stars, so that things influenced by their rays become conformable to them so far forth in nature. By this spirit, therefore, every occult property is conveyed into herbs, stones, metals, and animals, through the sun, moon, planets, and through stars higher than the planets. If we can part spirit from matter, or use only those things in which spirit predominates, we can

obtain therewith results of great advantage to us. The alchemists attempt to separate this spirit from gold and silver, because, rightly separated and extracted, it will have power to convert into gold or silver any other metal into the substance of which it shall be properly projected. Cornelius says that he has done this himself, but that he could never produce more gold in this manner "than the weight of that was out of which we extracted the spirit¹." The extent of his conjuring was, therefore, that out of an ounce of gold he could make an ounce of gold, by a long chemical process.

By what has been said we see how it will happen that, apart from the virtues common to its species, every individual person or thing may possess peculiar properties, because, from the beginning, it contracts, together with its essence, a certain wonderful aptitude both for doing and for suffering after a particular manner, partly through the influences of the celestial bodies streaming down from particular configurations, partly through the agreement of matter that is being generated to the conceptions of the soul of the world. But from a Divine Providence these influences proceed as their first cause, and by it they are distributed and brought into a peculiar harmonious consent. The seal of the ideas is given to the governing intelligences, who, as faithful officers, sign all things entrusted to them with ideal virtue. "Now the

¹ Et nos illud facere novimus, et aliquando vidimus, sed non plus auri fabricare potuimus, nisi quantum erat illud auri pondus, de quo spiritum extraximus. *De Occ. Phil.* ed cit. E 3 ad fin. cap. xiv.

first cause, which is God, although He doth by Intelligences and the Heavens work upon these inferior things, doth sometimes (these media being laid aside, or their officiating being suspended) work those things immediately by Himself, which works are then called miracles. And the reasons of these operations can by no rational discourse, no magic, or occult or profound science whatsoever, be found out, or understood, but are to be learned and inquired into by divine oracles only¹."

These first principles having been laid down, seven chapters follow on the various means of discovering occult virtues of things. As they proceed from the spirit of the world, and are too subtle to be apprehended by the senses, they can "no otherwise but by experience and conjecture be inquired into by us²." We see at once how errors like those now denounced as superstition might most justly and honestly seem truth at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Greece and Rome furnished the learned with both science and philosophy, when to principles more or less resembling those above detailed, were joined records of experience, utterly corrupt with fable, yet accredited by the most cultivated scholars that the world up to that epoch had known. Things now incredible were stated by them positively, believed by all their countrymen, and, as before said, up to the time when Cornelius was

¹ Op. cit. ad fin. cap. xiii.

² Ibid. cap. xvi. Quæ a nobis non aliter quam experientia et conjectura indagari possunt.

writing, uncorrected by the mass of opposite experience that has been since acquired. It is proper that we should not travel from this point of view in looking through a book which was an attempt to show the reasonable origin of that whole system of belief whereof many a shred is still religiously preserved in Europe.

Now as to the experience of signs by which the character of occult powers may be detected. In the first place like turns to like, and virtues may come by way of similitude. Whatsoever hath long stood with salt becomes salt. The nutritive virtue in an animal turns into animal substance, herb, and grain. Fire moves to fire, water to water, and he that is bold moves to boldness, and it is well known among physicians that brain helps the brain and lung the lungs. Therefore, if we would obtain any property or virtue, let us look for things or animals in which such property or virtue is most largely contained, and use them, or the parts of them in which the property especially resides. Take, to promote love, some animal that is most loving, as a dove or sparrow, and take it at the time when these animals have this affection most intense. To increase boldness, look for a lion or a cock, and take of these, heart, eyes, or forehead. After the same manner doth a frog make one talkative, and the heart of a screech-owl, that is talkative of nights, laid over the heart of a woman when she is asleep, is said to make her utter all her secrets. Animals that are long-lived conduce to life, as is manifest of the viper and snake; and it is well

known that harts renew their old age by the eating of snakes¹.

And the power of one thing can be given to another, as the power of the loadstone may be given to the iron; and the looking-glass used by a woman who is impudent will deprive of modesty another woman who looks often into it. For the same reason rings are put for a certain time into the nests of sparrows or swallows, which afterwards are used to procure love and favour².

There are also between things that are different enmities and friendships. So in the elements fire is an enemy to water, air to earth, yet they agree among themselves. So among celestial bodies Mercury, Jupiter, the Sun, and Moon are friends to Saturn; Mars and Venus enemies to him. All the planets, except Mars, are friends to Jupiter; all, except Venus, enemies to Mars; Jupiter and Venus love the Sun, but Mars and Mercury, as well as the Moon, hate him. All love Venus except Saturn. Mercury has Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn for his friends, and the same friends has also the Moon, but the Moon is not a friend to Mercury, neither is the Sun or Mars, while Mars agrees with Mercury in his return of hatred to the Moon. There is another kind of enmity among the stars, namely, when they have opposite houses. And of what sort the friendships and enmities of the superiors be, such are the inclinations of things subjected to them among their inferiors. There are many such concords and discords. The dove loves the parrot, the vine loves the elm,

¹ *De Occ. Phil.* Lib. i. cap. xv. ed. cit. E 4.

² Cap. xvi.

the olive-tree the myrtle. The emerald draws riches; the agate, eloquence. If any one eats passion-flower he shall die of laughing. We learn, from the use made of them by the brutes, virtues of many things. The sick magpie puts a bay-leaf into her nest and is recovered. The lion, if he be feverish, is recovered by the eating of an ape. By eating the herb ditany, a wounded stag expels the dart out of its body. Cranes medicine themselves with bul-rushes, leopards with wolfsbane, boars with ivy; for between such plants and animals there is an occult friendship¹.

But there are inclinations of enmities² of which we may make use. As a thing angrily shuns its contrary, or drives it away out of its presence, so acts rhubarb against bile, or treacle against poison, amethyst against drunkenness, topaz against covetousness and all animal excess. Marjoram loathes and destroys cabbage; cucumbers hate oil, and will run themselves into a ring lest they should touch it. Mice and weasels do so disagree, that it is said mice will not touch cheese if the brains of a weasel be put into the rennet. Nothing is so much an enemy to snakes as crabs; wherefore, also, when the sun is in Cancer snakes are tormented.

There are properties that belong only to individuals³, idiosyncrasies; as when a man trembles at a cat, or fattens upon spiders. Avicenna says there was a man

¹ *De Occ. Phil.* cap. xvii.

² Cap. xviii. ed. cit. F 2, 3.

³ Cap. xix.

living in his time whom no poison hurt, and that whatever venomous thing bit him itself perished.

Again, virtues that are natural and common to a species are contained sometimes in the whole substance, sometimes only in a part¹. The civet cat hath this in its whole substance, that dogs by the mere contact with its shadow cease to bark, but it hath in its eyes only the power to make whoso beholdeth them stand still and amazed. So in a man's body it is only the little bone, called by the Hebrews Luz, which fire cannot destroy or time corrupt, and which is the seed of the new body that shall spring up in the resurrection.

Finally, there is a distinction to be made between powers that exist only during the life of the thing operative and those which remain in force after its death². It is only when alive that the Echinus can arrest the course of ships. They say also, that in the colic, if a live duck be applied to the stomach it takes away the pain, and the duck dies. Generally, parts of animals that are used should be taken from the animal while it still lives and is in fullest vigour. The right eye of a serpent being applied relieves watering of the eyes, if the serpent be let go alive, and the tooth of a mole will be a cure for toothache, if it was taken from a living mole who was allowed to run away after the operation. Some properties remain, however, after death, attached to things in which some part of the idea remains. So it is that herbs, when dried, retain their virtue, and the skin of a wolf corrodes the skin

¹ *De Occ. Phil.* cap. xx.

² Cap. xxi.

of a lamb, and acts upon it not only by contact of substance; for a drum made of the skin of a wolf being beaten will cause that a drum made of a lamb's skin shall not sound.

These points having been determined, the next thirteen chapters¹ are devoted to an exposition of the influences of celestial bodies. Things are solary or lunar, jovial, saturnine, martial, or mercurial, according to the nature of strong impressions that have been communicated. According to the doctrine of the Arabians, certain parts of the body, specified by them, are ruled over by each planet. Let us be content to name the Sun, who rules over the brain and heart, the thigh, the marrow, the right eye, and the spirit; also the tongue, the mouth, the rest of the organs of the senses, as well internal as external; also the hands, feet, legs, nerves, and the powers of imagination. A royal domain, truly, but in many places enjoyed only with divided sway. Two or more planets may be set in government together over one part of the body. Then, again, as saith Hermes, there are seven holes in the head of an animal, distributed to the seven planets. Also among the several signs of the Zodiac is each living body parcelled out for government, and there is the same relation between the parts as between signs or planets ruling. The agreement of the triplicity in the case of Pisces and Virgo accounts for the fact that, by putting the feet into hot water, one may sometimes relieve pain in the belly. The plants also are classed under signs and planets, and

¹ *De Occ. Phil.* cap. xxii.-xxxv.

in case of any disease help may be generally found by using things under the same sign as the part affected. Again, not only are the characters of men determined by the planets under which they have been born, but according to their character trades also are to be classed under celestial signs; as old men, monks, and others under Saturn; barbers, surgeons, soldiers, executioners, and butchers under Mars.

Now, it is very hard to know what star or sign everything is under. It is known sometimes through the imitation of the superior figure, as in the case of the sun in the blossom of the marigold, or the fruit of the lotus. Sometimes it is known by imitation of the rays of the superior, by its colour, odour, or effects. So gold is solary by reason of its splendour, and its receiving from the sun that which makes it cordial. Balsamic plants are solary, including Libanotis, called by Orpheus the sweet perfume of the sun. The baboon, also, is solary, because he barks twelve times a day, that is, every hour, and marks smaller intervals of time in a way that caused his figure to be carved by the Egyptians on their fountains¹.

Among lunar things are the earth, water, all moist things, especially those that are white; silver, crystal, and

¹ "Solaris est Emocephalus qui per singulas horas duodecies in die latrat, et equinoctii tempore duodecies per singulas horas mingit: idem et in nocte, unde illum in hidrologiis sculpebant Ægyptii." *De Occ. Phil.* cap. xxii. ed. cit. G 4. Hermes Trismegistus, or a writer in his name, taught that the common division of time was suggested to man by the habits of this sacred animal.

all those stones that are white and green. Amongst plants the selenotrope, which turns to the moon, as doth the heliotrope towards the sun, and the palm-tree, which sends forth a bough at every rising of the moon. Among lunary animals are such as delight to be in man's company; and the panther, which it is said has a spot upon its shoulder waxing and waning as the moon doth. Cats also are lunary, whose eyes become greater or less according to the course of the moon. Lunary also are amphibious animals, and those which are equivocally generated, as mice sometimes are bred from putrefaction of the earth, wasps are bred of the carcasses of horses, bees of the putrefaction of cows, small flies of sour wine, and beetles of the flesh of asses¹.

Saturnine² are again earth and water, and, among other things, the heavy metals, such as gold and lead; plants whereof the juices stupify, also the yew and passion flower; among animals all that creep, live apart, are dull, or gross, or those that eat their young; also such birds as have long necks and harsh voices.

Jovial³ are the air, the blood, and spirit; things sweet to the taste and with a piquant flavour. Gold is under Jupiter as well as Saturn. Jovial are gems with airy colours; lucky trees, such as the oak, beech, hazel, apple, pear, and so forth; all manner of corn, raisins, liquorice, and sugar; such animals as are stately, wise, and of mild disposition; such as are gentle, such as are devout—peli-

De Occ. Phil. cap. xxiv. fol. H.

² Cap. xxv.

³ Cap. xxvi.

cans and storks, for example. The eagle is under Jupiter especially.

Martial¹ are fire and all things sharp, or of a burning, bitter taste that causes tears. Among humours, bile; among metals, iron and red brass; all red and sulphurous things, diamond, bloodstone; poisonous or prickly plants, or plants that sting; animals that are bold, ravenous, or warlike; offensive things, as gnats; and those which are called fatal birds, as the screech-owl or kestrel. These, and other such things, are all ruled by Mars.

Venus² rules air and water, over blood and spirit, over things sweet, unctuous, delectable, over silver and brass, over all fair, white, and green gems, over violets and maidenhair, over all sweet perfumes and fruits, especially pomegranates, which the poets say were in Cyprus first sown by Venus. It is this planet, also, that rules over all things prone to love.

Mercurial³ are water and animal spirit; among humours, those which are mixed; among metals, quicksilver and tin; artificial stones, also, and glass; and things of a mixed nature, as, among plants, those that have much-indented leaves or flowers of divers colours; among animals, such as are quick, clever, and inconstant.

It will have been observed that the same thing is often ruled by many stars in the great distribution of all sublunary things among the planets⁴. Thus in fire the light is solary, the heat is martial, the surface of its stream

¹ Cap. xxvii.

² Cap. xxviii.

³ Cap. xxix.

⁴ Cap. xxx.

lunary and mercurial. Every planet rules and disposes that which is like to it. All beauty, for example, is from Venus, and all strength from Mars; therefore in plants the flower is from Venus, and from Mars the wood; in gems, the fair surface is from Venus, and from Mars the hardness; and so of other planets, as when it is said of stones or gems that the weight or clamminess is of Saturn, the use and temperament of Jupiter, the life from the Sun, the occult virtue from Mercury, the common use from the Moon; or of plants, that the root is from Saturn, the fruit from Jupiter, the seed and bark from Mercury, and the leaves from the Moon.

Moreover, all the kingdoms and the provinces of earth¹ are found to be distributed under the several planets and celestial signs. Britain, France, Germany, Judæa, and other places, are thus under Mars with Aries; the Sun with Leo governs Italy, Phœnicia, and Chaldea; Mercury with Virgo, Greece, Assyria, and Babylon. "These," says Cornelius, after citing a sufficient number, "we have in this manner gathered from Ptolemy's opinion, to which, according to the writing of other astrologers, many more might be added. But he who knows how to compare these divisions of provinces according to the divisions of the stars, with the ministry of the ruling Intelligences and blessings of the tribes of Israel, the lots of the apostles and typical seals of the sacred Scripture, shall be able to obtain great and prophetic oracles con-

¹ Cap. xxxi.

cerning every region, of things to come¹." At any rate, there was a good deal to be done before one could be qualified to prophesy.

After having learned the influences of the planets, there are still the influences of the signs of the Zodiac and of the fixed stars to be studied². The same principle extends throughout. The earthly ram is under the celestial ram, the ploughman's ox under the heavenly Taurus. The starry Ursa governs bears, and dogs are under Sirius. Apuleius has also assigned particular herbs to signs and planets, as the pimpernel to Sagittarius, the dock to Capricorn, marigold to the Sun, peony to the Moon, agrimony to the planet Jupiter. Again, we know by experience that asparagus is under Aries, and garden-basil under Scorpio; for of the shavings of rams' horns sown comes forth asparagus, and garden-basil rubbed between two stones produceth scorpions³.

But no inferior is ruled by one superior only, whether star or planet. Topaz is under the sun and the star Elpheia. Emerald is under Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, and the star Spica.

Here ends the detail of the theory of nature, upon which were based, so far as concerned natural things, the arts of sorcery and divination. From theory to practice, therefore, the young student passes.

¹ *Occ. Phil.* ed. cit. H 4.

² Cap. xxxii.

³ Jamque etiam experientia cognoscimus, Asparagos subesse Arieti, et Basilicon Scorpioni. Nam seminata rasura cornu arietis nascuntur Asparagi, et Basilicon contritum inter duos lapides gignit scorpiones. Cap. xxii. H 4.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE PRACTICE OF MAGIC AS DESCRIBED IN THE REST OF THE FIRST
BOOK OF OCCULT SCIENCE.

EVERY star has its peculiar nature and property, the seal and character of which it impresses through its rays upon inferior things subject to it, and of the several stars which govern one thing, the star having chief rule will set its seal the most distinctly¹. Thus marigold, being solary, shows in its root, when cut, the characters of the sun; so, also, in the bones, especially the shoulder-bones, of animals, whence there has arisen a kind of divination by the shoulder-blades. Now, these characters, or seals, retain in them the virtues of the stars whence they proceed, and can operate with those virtues upon other things on which they are reflected. But as the number of the stars is known only to God, and of the diversity of seals and operations man is able, with his brief experience and finite intellect, to understand only a few, we speak only of the signs that are upon man, who is the completest image of the universe.

Ancient sages, who inquired into the occult properties

¹ *De Occ. Phil.* cap. xxxiii.

of things, set down in writing images of stars, their seals and characters as they appear in plants, in joints or knots of boughs, and in members of animals. We set down here that part of this divine writing which was discovered by the ancient cheiromancers in the hands of men. These are called divine letters, because being the seals or characters of planets, by them, according to the Holy Scripture, is the life of men writ in their hands. Here follow, therefore, successively, line under line, the divine letters of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, the Sun, and the Moon:

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Now, whoso desires to receive virtue from any part of the world, or any star¹, should bring himself under its influence by the use of those things that belong thereto; as whoso would prepare wood to receive flame should cover it with sulphur, pitch and oil. In this way, by applying together and combining wisely many things conformable to one idea, a singular gift is infused by the idea into that combination, by means of the soul of the world. With solary things, therefore, bring down virtues from the sun, and as all solar properties are not in one thing, but one solary thing will contain one property especially, another another, so to bring down the greatest effect, we must combine things all of them solary, but which attract the solar influence in diverse ways. This rule applies in every case². Wonderful effects may be produced by the union of mixed things, and a more noble form drawn from above, if congruity be properly observed³. The like happens in nature by unions that take place between bodies through what the Greeks call sympathies; divine powers being thus drawn down, for nature is the great magician⁴. “So we see that when nature has framed the body of the infant, by this very preparative she presently draws down the spirit from the universe. This spirit is then the instrument to obtain of God the understanding and mind in the soul and body, as in wood the dryness is fitted to receive oil, and the oil being imbibed is food for the fire, the fire is the vehicle of light. By these examples

¹ Cap. xxxiv.² Cap. xxxv.³ Cap. xxxvi.⁴ Cap. xxxvii. fol. K.

you see how by certain natural and artificial preparations, we are in a capacity to receive certain celestial gifts from above. For stones and metals have a correspondency with herbs, herbs with animals, animals with the heavens, the heavens with intelligences, and those with divine properties and attributes and with God himself after whose image and likeness all things are created. For this is the band and continuity of nature, that all superior virtue doth flow through every inferior with a long and continued series, dispersing its rays even to the very last things: and inferiors, through their superiors, come to the very supreme of all. For so inferiors are successively joined to their superiors: that there proceeds an influence from their head, the first cause, as a certain string stretched out, to the lowermost things of all: of which string if one end be touched, the whole doth presently shake: and such a touch doth sound to the other end: and at the motion of the inferior the superior also is moved, to which the other doth answer: as strings in a lute well tuned¹."

Not only vital, but also angelical and intellectual gifts may be drawn from above², as Mercurius Trismegistus and Saint Augustine, in his eighth book, "De Civitate Dei," relate that an image rightly made of certain proper things, appropriated to any one certain angel, will presently be animated by that angel. Celestial spirits may, in this way, be invoked by men who are of a pure mind,

¹ *De Occ. Phil.* K 2. I have preserved the punctuation in this passage to show the use of the colon before semicolons were invented.

² Cap. xxxviii.

humble themselves, and pray secretly. And by foul and profane men, who use such arts profanely, no man is ignorant that evil spirits may be raised¹.

Now, there are bindings², as of a mill, that it can by no force whatever be turned round; or of a robber, that he shall not steal in any place; or of fire, that it cannot burn; and these and many like wonders are worked by methods that have next to be detailed. First, there are sorceries as that of which Saint Augustine reports, who heard of some women sorcerers that were so versed in these kind of arts, that, by giving cheese to men, they could presently turn them into working cattle, and, the work being done, restored them into men again³.

Now, I will show you what some of the sorceries are⁴.

¹ Cap. xxxix.

² Cap. xl.

³ Cap. xli.

⁴ Cap. xlii. The most wonderful, necessarily omitted from the text, is that described in the commencement of this chapter: "Sanguis menstruus, qui quantas in veneficio vires habeat, videamus: Nam ut dicunt, acescunt ejus superventu musta novella, vitis ejus tactu in perpetuum læditur: sterilescunt tactæ fruges, moriuntur insitæ, exuruntur hortorum germina, et fructus arborum decidunt, speculorum fulgor aspectu ipso hebetatur, et acies ferri in cultris tonsoriis eborisque nitor præstriguntur, etiam ferrum rubigine protinus corrumpitur: æs etiam contactum, grave virus diri odoris accipit, et eruginem: in rabiem aguntur gustato eo canes, atque insanabili veneno morsus infigitur, alvei apum emoriuntur, tactisque alveariis fugiunt, linaque cum coquuntur nigrescunt: eques si sint gravidæ contacto eo abortum patiuntur, abortum etiam facit illitum pregnantibus. Asinæ non concipiunt tot annis quot grana hordei eo contacta comederint, cinisque pannorum menstruorum si quis eum aspergat lavandis vestibus purpuram mutat, floribus colorem adimit. Ferunt tertianas quartanasque febres fugari menstruo in lana arietis nigri in argento brachiali incluso. Præterea tertianis quartanisque efficacissimum dicitur, plantas ægri cum eo subterlini: multoque efficacius ab ipsa muliere etiam ignoranti: sic et comitiales impetus morbosque sanari. Inter omnes autem convenit si aqua potusve formidetur a morsu canis, supposita tantum calici lacinia menstruo tincta statim metum eum discuti. Præterea ferunt nudatas in mense si segetem ambient, erucas,

The civet cat abounds with them : for, as Pliny reports, the posts of a door being touched with her blood, the arts of jugglers and sorcerers are so invalid that the gods cannot be called up. Also that they who are anointed with the ashes of the ankle-bone of her left foot, being decocted with the blood of a weasel, shall become odious to all. The same is done with the eye, being decocted. Also, it is said, that the straight gut is administered against the injustice and corruption of princes. Also, it is said, that the sword with which a man is slain hath wonderful power in sorceries : for, if the snaffle of the bridle, or spurs, be made of it, they say that with these any horse, though never so wild, may be tamed ; and that if a horse should be shod with shoes made with it, he would be most swift and fleet, and never, though never so hard rode, tire. But yet they will that some characters and names be written upon it. They say also, if any man

ac vermiculos, scarabæosque, ac cantarides, et noxia quæque decidere, cavendum vero, ne id oriente sole faciant, sementem enim arescere. Similiter abigi grandines, turbinesque, ac contra fulgura prodesse, horum plura Plinius ipse recitat. Illud scias majus venenum esse si decrescente Luna accadat, sed vim eius maiorem esse si in silente Luna contingat, si vero in defectu Lunæ Solisve evenit, irremediabile fieri : Maximi vero ac potentissimi vigoris esse, quando purgatio illa primis annis evenit, atque in virginitate prima sit, id quoque convenit tunc ei : nam tactis omnino postibus domus, irritum in ea fit omne maleficium. Præterea ferunt quod fila vestis contactæ, ne igne quidem vincuntur, atque si in incendium projiciantur, non dilatari amplius : dicitur quoque quod si radix Peoniæ cum castoreo et litura pannorum menstruosorum detur patienti, sanari morbum comitiale. Præterea si stomachum cervi cremaveris, vel assaveris, adjungasque de pannis menstruois suffitus, eo balistas nihil proficere ad venationem : capillos etiam mulieris menstruosæ, si sub fimo ponantur generari serpentes, ac etiam si crementur fugari eorum odore serpentes, tanta vis ejus veneficii est, ut etiam venenosis sit venenum."

shall dip a sword, wherewith men were beheaded, in wine, and the sick drink thereof, he shall be cured of his quartan.

Some suffumigations¹ or perfumings, also, that are proper to the stars, are of great force for receiving celestial gifts under the rays of the stars, inasmuch as they work strongly on the air and breath. Wherefore the inhaling of such vapours was wont to be used by soothsayers to affect their fancy and dispose them for reception of the influences which those vapours draw: so they say that fumes made with linseed and fleabane seed and roots of violets and parsley make one to foresee things to come. Great things can suffumigations do in the air, as the liver of a chameleon, being burnt on the top of the house, doth, as it is manifest, raise showers and lightnings. There are also suffumigations under opportune influences of the stars that cause the images of spirits forthwith to appear in the air or elsewhere. The author gives several recipes; this part of his work consisting mainly of a compilation of those secrets by which wonders were said to be worked, gathered from all sources and given to the world. "The fume of the burnt hoof of a horse drives away mice, the same doth the hoof of a mule, with which also, if it be the hoof of the left foot, flies are driven away. And they say, if a house be smoked with the gall of a cuttle-fish, made into a confection with red styrax, roses, and aloe wood, and if then there be some sea-water or blood cast into that place, the whole house will seem to be full of

¹ Cap. xliii. L 2.

water or blood; and if some earth of ploughed ground be cast there, the earth will seem to quake.

Now, with such vapours anything can be infected, as the poisonous vapour of the plague being retained for two years in the walls of a house can infect the inhabitants, and as the contagion of plague or leprosy lying hid in a garment doth long after infect him who wears it. Therefore were certain suffumigations used to images, rings, and such-like instruments of magic, as Porphyry saith, very effectually. So they say, if any one shall hide gold, or silver, or any other precious thing, the moon being in conjunction with the sun, and shall fumigate the place with coriander, saffron, henbane, smallage, and black poppy, of each a like quantity, bruised together and tempered with the juice of hemlock, that which is so hid shall never be found, or taken away, and that spirits shall continually keep it; and if any one shall endeavour to take it away, he shall be hurt by them, and shall fall into a frenzy. And Hermes saith, that there is nothing like the fume of spermaceti for the raising of spirits; wherefore, if a fume be made of that and lignum aloes, pepperwort, musk, saffron, red styrax, tempered together with the blood of a lapwing, it will quickly gather airy spirits together, and if it be used about the graves of the dead, it gathers together spirits, and the ghosts of the dead.

But as often as we direct any work to the sun¹, we must make suffumigations with solary things; if to the

¹ Cap. xliij. L 4.

moon, with lunary things, and so of the rest. And we must know, that as there is a contrariety and enmity in stars, and spirits, so also in suffumigations unto the same. So there is a contrariety betwixt aloes wood and sulphur, frankincense and quicksilver; and spirits that are raised by the fume of aloes wood are laid by the burning of sulphur. As Proclus gives an example in a spirit, which was wont to appear in the form of a lion, but by the setting of a cock before it, vanished away, because there is a contrariety betwixt a cock and a lion.

It is necessary, therefore, to know of what substances the fumes are appropriated to each planet, and a list of some of them is given by the young magician in another chapter. He then passes, in his forty-fifth chapter, to an account of eye-waters, ointments, and love-spells. Our spirit is the subtle vapour of the blood, and by applying to the body substances which mingle with that vapour subtle vapour of their own, the natural powers of the spirit take part in the virtues brought down by the collyrium or unguent used. Very great is the power of a collyrium or eye-water, because the sight perceives more purely than the other senses, and agrees more than any other sense with the fantastic spirit, as is apparent in dreams, when things seen present themselves to us oftener than things heard, or anything coming under the other senses. Wherefore it is possible by eye-waters to give apparent external perception to images conceived within the mind, and images of spirits so formed can be made visible in the air, "as," says the youth, "I know how to make of the gall

of a man, and the eyes of a black cat, and of some other things." They are the passions and the delusions of maniacal and melancholy men that can by these means be induced. But great, also, is the power of fascination, which comes from the spirit of a witch¹, by its flow out of the eyes in a pure, lucid, subtle vapour, generated of the purer blood, by the heat of the heart. And as the vapour from blear eyes² falling upon eyes that are sound may corrupt them, so may the motions and imaginations of one spirit be poured through the eyes and be the vehiculum of that spirit through the eyes of him that is opposite. Whence Apuleius saith, "thy eyes sliding down through my eyes, into mine inward breast, stir up a most vehement burning in my marrow." Thus love may be lit by the rays of the eyes only, and the witch uses her power of fascination which she makes intense by mingling with those rays the power of collyria and ointments, using martial eye-waters to strike with fear, saturnine to procure sickness or misery, and so forth. Upon the same principle can use be made of potions.

Upon the same principle, also, are made charms which may be worn upon the body, bound to any part of it, or hung about the neck², changing sickness into health, or health into sickness, and rendering those who wear them terrible or gracious, acceptable or abominable, to their neighbours. In like manner, we see that the torpedo being touched afar off with a long pole doth presently stupify the hand of him that toucheth it. So they say,

¹ Cap. 1. N 1, 2.

² Cap. xlv. M 2.

that if a starfish be fastened with the blood of a fox and a brass-nail to a house gate, in that house evil medicines can do no hurt. It is necessary that we know the certain rule of alligation and suspension—namely, that they be done under a certain and suitable constellation, and that they be done with wire or silken threads, with hair or sinews of certain animals. And things that are to be wrapped up must be wrapped in leaves, skins, or fine cloth, chosen according to the suitableness of things; as if thou wouldst procure the solary virtue of anything, this being wrapped up in bay-leaves or skin of a lion, hang it about thy neck with a golden thread, or silk of a yellow colour, whilst the sun rules in the heavens; so shalt thou be endowed with the solary virtue of that thing. But if thou dost desire the virtue of any saturnine thing, thou shalt in like manner take that thing whilst Saturn reigns, and wrap it up in the skin of an ass, or in a cloth used at a funeral, especially if thou desirest it for sadness, and with a black thread hang it about thy neck.

Like to this, also, is the use of rings¹. When any star ascends fortunately, take a stone and herb that are under that star, make a ring of the metal that is congruous therewith, and in that fix the stone with the herb under it. We read in Philostratus Iarchus, that a wise prince of the Indies gave seven rings made after this manner, marked with the names and virtues of the seven planets, to Apollonius, of which rings he wore every day one, distinguishing them according to the names of the days,

¹ Cap. xlvii. M 2.

and by the benefit of them lived one hundred and thirty years, as also always retained the beauty of youth.

There are also virtues that belong to places¹. Look for the footmark of a cuckoo in that place where he hath first been heard, and if his right foot be marked about and the footstep digged up, there will no fleas breed in that place where it is scattered. Particular places are appropriated to each star. To Saturn foul or gloomy places, churchyards, caves, or fens. To Jupiter privileged places, as consistories, tribunals, schools. To Mars fiery and bloody places, such as fields of battle, bake-houses, or shambles. To the sun light places, the serene air, palaces and thrones. To Venus, pleasant fountains, green meadows, and wherever those under her rule resort. To Mercury, shops, warehouses, exchanges. To the moon, wildernesses, woods, rocks and mountains, waters and sea-shores, highways and granaries for corn. In seeking to draw virtue from any star or planet, collect things suitable in a place suitable. Stand also, while doing any work of this kind, in a suitable position, for the four corners of the earth belong to this matter. Thus, they that are to gather a saturnal, martial, or jovial herb, must look towards the east or south, partly because they desire to be oriental from the sun, or partly because their principal houses—namely, Aquarius, Scorpio, Sagittarius—are southern signs, so also are Capricorn and Pisces. In any solary work, also, we must look towards the east or south, but rather towards the solary body and light.

¹ Cap. xlviii. M 3.

In labouring under the other planets, look, for the opposite reasons, in the opposite directions.

Because of the subtlety of light¹ and its quick passage into bodies, and especially into man through the eyes, great is the power of light to mar or make enchantments. Therefore, enchanters have a care to cover their enchantments with their shadow. By artificial lights of many kinds and colours, properly confected, strange things may be made to appear. They say that if, when grapes are in flower, any one shall tie a bottle of oil to the grapevine, and so leave it till the fruit is ripe, that oil being thereafter lighted in a lamp, a vision of grapes is produced. Such force also is in sepia, that it, being put into a lamp, makes blackamoors appear. It is also reported, that a candle made of some saturnine things, if being lighted it be extinguished in the mouth of a man newly dead, will afterwards, as often as it shines alone, bring great sadness and fear upon them that stand about it.

Of colours of lights and of all colours it should be known that there are to each planet certain colours that are proper. These Cornelius details.

The fifty-first chapter of the first book of Occult Science contains notes of various conditions that, if they be observed, will produce wonderful results. Thus, if a man have ague, let all the parings of his nails be put into pismires' caves, and they say that that which began to draw the nails first must be taken and bound to the neck, and by this means will the disease be removed. Also

¹ Cap. xlix. M 4.

they say that a man's eyes being washed three times with the water wherein he has washed his feet will never be sore. And a little frog climbing up a tree, if any one shall spit in his mouth, and then let him escape, is said to cure the cough. It is a wonderful thing, but easy to experience, that Pliny speaks of, "If any one shall be sorry for any blow that he hath given another afar off, or nigh at hand, if he shall presently spit into the middle of the hand with which he gave the blow, the party that was smitten shall presently be freed from pain." This, we are told, hath been approved of in a four-footed beast that hath been sorely hurt. Some there are that, in the same way, aggravate a blow before they give it (as to this day do our pugilists and our spade-labourers). Also they say, that if any one shall measure a dead man with rope, first from the elbow to the biggest finger, then from the shoulder to the same finger, and afterwards from the head to the feet, making those measurements three times, if any one afterwards be measured with the rope in the same manner, he shall not prosper, but be unfortunate and fall into misery and sadness.

Countenance, gesture, gait, and figure of the body¹, conduce to the receiving of celestial gifts, and expose us to the superior bodies, and produce certain effects in us, no otherwise than as in hellebore, which, when thou gatherest, if thou pullest the leaf upward, it draws the humours upward and causeth vomiting; if downward, it causeth purging, by drawing the humour downward.

¹ Cap. lii. N 3, 4.

A pleasant face spreads joy around, a gloomy face discomfort ; certain characters are formed by the disposition of the heavens, whether martial, mercurial, saturnine. And the heavens produce, not only characters, but shapes. For Saturn rules a man to be of a black and yellowish colour, lean, crooked, of a rough skin, with great veins, hairy all over his body, little eyes intent upon the ground ; a frowning forehead, a thin beard, great lips ; a heavy gait, striking his feet together as he walks. But Jupiter signifies a man to be of a pale colour, darkish red, a handsome body, good stature, bold, with great, large-pupilled eyes that are not altogether black, short nostrils not equal, large front teeth, and curly hair. Thus upon the features, and the marks and lines upon the face and body, are founded physiognomy, metoposcopy, and cheiromancy, arts of divination not to be slighted or condemned when prognostication is made by them, not out of superstition, but by observation of the harmonies and correspondences of all parts of the body. And whosoever, in gesture, countenance, or passion, with a due regard to fitness of opportunity, makes himself accordant to any one of the celestial bodies, by so much as his accordance is made greater can receive from them the larger gifts.

The treatise turns, in the next place, to divination, by means of auguries and auspices¹, lightning and prodigies. To a compilation of the belief and practice of the ancients Agrippa finds matter to add. There is Michael Scot's twelvefold division of auguries ; six on the right hand,

¹ Cap. liii.-lvi. O-P 4.

which he calls Fernova, Fervetus, Sonnasarnova, Sonnasarvetus, Confert, Emponenthem; and six on the left hand, which are Confernova, Confervetus, Scassarnova, Scassarvetus, Viarum, Herrenam. When a flying bird alights on the right-hand side of any one, then it is Confernova, a good sign. When a man or bird passing you stops to rest on the left-hand side, then it is Scassarvetus, and an evil sign. There is divination from the cry or song of any bird, and there is divination also from its nature. Swallows, because when they are dying they provide a place of safety for their young, portend a great patrimony, or legacy, from the death of friends. A sparrow is a bad omen to one that runs away, for she flies from the hawk and makes haste to the owl, where she is in as great danger. There are like omens from all other animals. If a snake meet thee, take heed of an ill-tongued enemy; for this animal hath no other power but in his mouth. Meeting of monks, declares Cornelius, is commonly accounted an ill omen, and so much the rather if it be early in the morning, because these kind of men live for the most by the sudden death of men, as vultures do by slaughter.

The ancients did also prognosticate from sneezings, because they thought they proceeded from a sacred place—namely, the head, in which the intellect is vigorous and operative. Whence also, whatsoever speech comes unawares into the mind of a man rising in the morning is a presage.

Now there is, as saith William of Paris, in most animals

an instinct of nature more sublime than human apprehension, and very near to prophecy. This manifestly appears in some dogs, who know by this instinct thieves and men that are hid. In like manner vultures foresee future slaughter in battles, and gather themselves together into places where they foresee that the heaps of carcases will be. The animal world also is distributed among the stars.

There are, moreover, presages to be obtained out of the elements. From colours, motions, forms, and celestial congruities of earth, water, air, and fire, there are drawn those four famous kinds of divination: Geomancy, Hydromancy, Aeromancy, Pyromancy¹.

In the next chapter upon the revival of the dead², the sleeping for many years together,—as it is said that Epimenides slept fifty years, and gave rise to the proverb against sluggards, to outsleep Epimenides,—of these things, and of long-continued abstinence from food, Cornelius says that they are hard to be believed, but that they are to be credited, inasmuch as they are certified abundantly by approved historians. He accumulates in evidence of this a great number of cases.

Divination by dreams³ that are not vain dreams, but caused by the celestial influences in the fantastic spirit, mind, or body, properly disposed, is not to be carried on by the one common rule provided in astrology, because dreams come by use to divers men in divers manners. It is proper that each man should note carefully his own

Cap. lvii. P 4.

² Cap. lviii. Q.

³ Cap. lix. Q 3.

manner of dreaming, remembering that dreams are most efficacious when the moon passes over that sign which was in the ninth number of the nativity, or revolution of that year, or in the ninth sign from the sign of perfection.

There is also a prophetic madness falling upon men who are awake, and so great is the force of melancholy¹ in some persons that it sometimes draws celestial spirits down into men's bodies, by whose presence and instinct, antiquity testifies, men have been made drunk, and spoken most wonderful things. And this, it is thought, may happen in three ways, according to a threefold apprehension of the soul, imaginative, rational, and mental. When the mind is forced by melancholy beyond the bonds of the members wholly into one of these, if it be into the first, an ignorant man may become suddenly an artist; and if a prophet, prophesier of disturbances among the elements; but if it be with the second he may become suddenly a philosopher, physician, orator; and if a prophet, prophesies mutations of kingdoms and the work of man in ages yet to come.

The few remaining chapters of this first book of Occult Philosophy, treat of the nature and power of the human mind and passions. Man² was created, not by God immediately, but by the heavenly spirits under his command; and when these mixed the elements to make a body servant to the soul, they built it up with all its meaner parts in lower places, and the highest still the

¹ Cap. lx. Q 4.

² Cap. lxi.

best. As in the case of the external senses, the eyes, which have the uppermost place, are the most pure, and have affinity with fire and light; the ears next below have an affinity to air; the nostrils are of middle nature and watery; below them the mouth, more like to the nature of water; and over the whole body the touch, which is compared to the grossness of earth. But the interior senses are, according to Averroes, divided into four: (1.) Common sense, which collects and perfects the impressions brought in from without; (2.) Imagination, which takes and retains impressions, and presents them to (3.) Fancy, which judges what the things are, of which representations are thus brought to it, forms opinions upon them, and gives them to (4.) Memory to keep. Common sense and imagination occupy the two front chambers of the brain; Fancy, or the cogitative power, takes the middle and the highest place; and memory is lodged in the hindmost chamber. There are three appetites and four passions of the soul. The Appetites are—1, natural, an inclination of nature to its end, as of a stone to fall; 2, animal, which the sense follows, and it is subdivided into irascible and concupiscible; 3, rational¹, the will, which is free by its essence, and from the depravities of which the four Passions proceed, namely, Oblectation, which is a disposition to effeminacy; Effusion, which is a melting and pouring of the whole mind into an enjoyment; Vaunting, and Envy. These passions are

¹ Plato's division of the soul was into rational, irascible, and concupiscible. *Republic*, Lib. iv. cap. xvi.

movements the result of apprehensions¹, which are of three sorts, sensual, rational, and intellectual; and over passions following the sensual apprehension Fancy is the ruler², but according to the nature of the passions Fancy acts in producing sensible mutations in the accidents of the body. So in joy the spirits are forced outwards, in fear drawn back, in bashfulness moved to the brain; anger produces heat, fear cold, sadness a sweat and bluish whiteness; anxiety induces dryness and blackness, and how love stirs the pulse physicians know who can discern therefrom the name of her that is beloved. So Naus-tratus knew that Antiochus was taken with the love of Stratonica. And how much vehement anger, joined with great audacity can do, Alexander the Great shows, who, being surrounded in a battle in India, was seen to send forth from himself lightning and fire.

Now the passions produce changes in the body, by way of imitation³, as when he who sees another gape, gapes also; and William of Paris knew a man upon whom any purgative draught would take effect at sight. So Cyppus, after he was chosen king of Italy, dwelt for a whole night upon the vivid recollection and enjoyment of a bull-fight, and in the morning was found horned, no otherwise than by the vegetative power being stirred up by a vehement imagination, elevating corniferous humours into his head. By this action of the Fancy (so great is the rule of the soul over the body) men are stirred to move from place to place, made able to weep at pleasure, to simulate the

¹ Cap. lxii.² Cap. lxiii.³ Cap. lxiiii.

voices of birds, cattle, dogs, or of neighbours; and Augustine makes mention of some men who would move their ears at their pleasure, and some that would move the crown of their head to their forehead, and could draw it back again when they pleased.

But the passions, following the fancy when they are most vehement, can not only change their own body, but can transcend so much as to work also on another body, to produce wonderful impressions on its elements, and remove or communicate disease¹. So the soul, being strongly elevated, sends forth health or sickness to surrounding objects; and Avicenna believed that with a strong action of the fancy in this manner one might kill a camel. Such is the known action of the parent on the unborn child. We see how a diseased body, as in the case of plague, will spread disease. The like is true of a diseased mind. And ever of bad something bad, of good something good, is derived from them that are nigh, and, like the smell of musk, adheres for a long time. Therefore it is well to avoid immoral company, to be much near the rich and fortunate when seeking to be wealthy, or with the virtuous when seeking to do well. Now the passions act most powerfully when the influence of the celestials is co-operative with them, and by conforming our minds strongly to the nature of a star², we can increase their power by attraction to them of the virtues of that star, as to a fitly-prepared receptacle. And they can act strongly only by help of a strong faith; therefore we

¹ Cap. lxxv.

² Cap. lxxvi.

must in every work, of whatever sort, if we would prevail in it, hope and believe strongly. Physicians own that a belief in them is more potent for cure than even medicine, and by a strong belief in their own power of curing, they give new strength to their remedies. Therefore, whoever works in magic must have belief strong always, be credulous, and nothing doubting. Distrust and doubting dissipate and break the power of the worker's mind, whence it comes that he is frustrated of the desired influence of the superiors.

Let, therefore, every one who would work in magic study to conform himself in such manner to the outer universe as that he shall assimilate to himself the powers he desires, and be in right union with celestials, or with minds of other men; and every one that is willing to work in magic must know the property, virtue, measure, order, and degree of his own soul among the powers in the universe¹. The superior binds the inferior, and the inferior is subject to the superior². Thus a lion is afraid of a cock, because the presence of the solary power is more agreeable to a cock than to a lion; loadstone draws iron because it hath a superior degree of the celestial bear. Words³ are of power in proportion to the worthiness of the tongue speaking, the influence of the voice, and virtue of the speaker; and they are of most efficacy which express the greater things—as intellectual, celestial, supernatural. They are of efficacy, also, in proportion to the worthiness and holiness of the language in which they

¹ Cap. lxvii.

² Cap. lxviii.

³ Cap. lxix.

are spoken. The essence of things signified lies in their proper names¹. Adam first named things, knowing the influences of the heavens and the properties of all below, so that he named them perfectly in right accordance with their natures and their powers. Every name is significative by the celestial harmony, or by imposition of man; when both significations meet in any name, the power then is double, being at once natural and arbitrary, and great is its influence if uttered with a faithful meaning and belief, in proper place and time.

The power of sentences² exceeds that of words, inasmuch as they are more full of mind and purpose. In composing verses, or phrases, to attract the power of a star, set forth and extol what is congenial to it, vilify what is in antagonism to it; invoke it by enumeration of its qualities, and of the things that it is able to perform or has performed. Thus Psyche in Apuleius prays to Ceres, by her fruitful right hand, by the joyful ceremonies of harvests, by the quiet silence of her chests, by the winged dragons her servants, by the furrows of the Sicilian soil, by the snatching waggon, by the clammy earth, by the cellar-stairs at the light nuptials of Proserpina, &c., &c. Stars, also, should be called upon by their own names and by the names of the intelligences ruling over them, and verses so framed should be spoken with significance and animation, with gesture, motion, and affection in full harmony, and with a blowing or breathing upon the words as they pass out, so that they may be over-

¹ Cap. lxx.

² Cap. lxxi.

flowed with the whole virtues of the inner soul. And from the use of sentences so formed, even by writing or pronouncing any of them backwards, there proceed unusual effects. The succeeding chapter on the power of such enchantments is composed chiefly of illustrations quoted out of Apuleius, Lucan, Virgil, Ovid, and Tibullus.

A written word or sentence has more power than a spoken one¹. It is the last and most emphatical expression of the mind. Therefore it is ordered by magicians that to give force to the expression of the will, when they gather a herb, make a figure, or do any work, they not only think and say, but also write why that is done².

Now there have been given to man mind and speech: the speech in divers languages not formed by chance, but from above, having proper characters whereby they agree with things superior and celestial; but before all figures and in writing, the letters of the Hebrews are in matter, form, and spirit, the most sacred³. They were formed after the figures of the stars, and the profoundest Hebrew Mecubals do undertake by the figure of their letters, the form of characters, and their signature, simpleness, composition, separation, crookedness, directness, defect, abounding, greatness, littleness, crowning, opening, shutting, order, transmutation, joining together, revolution of

¹ Cap. lxxiii.

² So Virgil, of this duty of expression:

“Necte tribus nodis ternos Amarylli colores,
Necte Amarylli modo, et, Veneris, dic, vincula nodo.”

³ Cap. lxxiii.

letters and of points and tops, and by the supputation of numbers, by the letters of things signified to explain all things, how they proceed from the first cause, and are again to be reduced into the same. Moreover, they divide the letters of their Hebrew alphabet into twelve simple, seven double, and three mothers, which, they say, signify, as characters of things, the twelve signs, seven planets, and three elements, for they account air no element but as the glue and spirit of the rest. With a discussion of these letters and an illustrative table the first book of Occult Philosophy is closed, the last topic being the occult use of the letters when employed as representatives of number. Upon this topic the writer touches very lightly, and so passes from studying the power of natural things in his first book to the direct consideration of the power that belongs to numbers in his second.

We must not pause to dwell long on the spirit of the scheme of nature he detailed. Little disguised by Hebrew admixture, and little perverted by the speculations of the Platonists of Alexandria, Philo the Jew, Plotinus, and Iamblichus, whom the young student quotes most frequently, we have again the Attic Moses, Plato, speaking through a young and strong heart to the world. Very great was the influence of Plato in this period of wakening to thought. Nothing was known by experience of nature, for little had been learnt since the time when Plato, theorising upon nature, owned it to be impossible to arrive at any certain result in our speculations upon the creation of the visible universe and its authors; "wherefore," he

said, "even if we should only advance reasons not less probable than those of others, you should still be content¹." In this spirit alone Cornelius Agrippa taught his age.—There are these marvels well accredited; there is this cumbrous and disjointed mass of earthly, sensible experience, which there is no way of explaining left to me but one. I accept the marvels, foolish as they seem; they are as well accredited as things more obviously true. With God all things are possible. In God all things consist. I will adopt Plato's belief, that the world is animated by a moving soul, and from the soul of the world I will look up to its Creator. I cannot rest content with a confused mass of evidence; I will animate with my own soul, and a faith in its divine origin, the world about me. I will adopt the glorious belief of Plato², that we sit here as in a cavern with our faces held from looking to the cavern's mouth, down which a light is streaming and pours in a flood over our heads, broken by shadows of things moving in the world above. We see the shadows on the wall, hear echoes, and believe in all as the one known truth of substance and of voice, although these are but the images of the superiors. I also will endeavour to climb up out of the cave into the land flooded with sunlight. I connect all that we see here with Plato's doctrine of superior ideas, I subdue matter to spirit, I will see true knowledge in apparent foolishness, and connect the meanest clod with its divine Creator. I will seek to draw down influences, and to fill

¹ *Timæus*, section ix.

² *Politeia*, Lib. vii. cap. i. ii.

my soul with a new strength imparted by the virtue of ideas streaming from above. The superior manifest in the inferior¹ is the law of nature manifested in the thing created. My soul is not sufficient for itself; beyond it and above it lie eternal laws, subtle, not having substance or form, yet the cause of form and substance. I cannot hope to know them otherwise than as ideas; to unborn generations they will be revealed, perhaps; to me they are ideas, celestial influences, working intelligences. I believe in them, and I desire to lay open my soul to their more perfect apprehension. They are not God, though God created them; they are not man, though they have by divine ordainment formed him. The more I dwell upon their qualities, the more I long for the divine, the more shall I be blessed by the reception of their rays. The more intensely I yearn heavenward, the more shall I bring down heaven to dwell in my soul.

So we may hear, if we will, the spirit of the young inquirer pleading to us from across the centuries, and if our own minds ever yearned for an escape from the delusions of the grosser sense and the restriction set by crowds on free inquiry, there is no true heart that will not say, You laboured well, my brother.

¹ See this explanation of Platonic doctrine admirably enforced in a work published while these sheets are passing through the press, the late Professor Butler's *Lectures on the History of Ancient Philosophy*.

CHAPTER IX.

WHAT IS CONTAINED IN CORNELIUS AGRIPPA'S SECOND BOOK OF OCCULT SCIENCE.

ARITHMETIC and geometry are, in a certain sense, a part of the first principles of magic. To show this is the object of the second book of Occult Science¹. After a chapter², which points out the wonders that have been achieved by those who have made only a mechanical use of the principles of mathematics, Cornelius proceeds to discuss their more recondite mysteries and powers. He treats first of Numbers, by the proportion of which, as saith Severinus Boethius, all things were formed³. If there are so many occult virtues in natural things, what marvel if in numbers, which are pure and commixed only

¹ The second and third books of Occult Philosophy appeared first at Cologne, preceded by a new edition of the first book, in July, 1533, as "*Henrici Cornelii Agrippæ ab Nettesheim et Consiliis et Archivis Inditiarii sacræ Cæsareæ Majestatis: De Occulta Philosophia, Libri Tres.*" There is a portrait on the title-page which, inasmuch as it is authenticated by the fact of its having been issued by himself, is the one chosen for transfer to the title-page of this biography. This, being the first of the Books II. and III., is the edition cited in succeeding notes.

² *De Occ. Phil. Lib. ii. cap. i. p. xcix. c.*

³ *Cap. ii. p. ci.*

with ideas in the divine mind, there should be found virtues greater and more occult. Even time must contain the mystery Number, so also does motion or action, and so, therefore, must all things that move, act, or are subjected to time. But the mystery is in the abstract power of number, in its rational and formal state¹, not in the expression of it by the voice, as among people who buy and sell. The power of numbers has been taught not only by the best philosophers, but also by Catholic doctors, Jerome, Augustine, Origen, Ambrose, Gregory of Nazianzen, Athanasius, Basil, Hilary, Bede. It is asserted also in nature, by the herb called cinquefoil, or five-leaved grass; for this resists poison, and bans devils by virtue of the number five, and one leaf of it taken in wine twice a day cures the quotidian, three the tertian, four the quartan fever. There is also a wonderful experience, that every seventh son born to parents who have not had daughters, is able to cure the king's evil by touch or word alone. The Pythagoreans profess that they can discern many things in the numbers of names; and if there did not lie herein a great mystery, St. John had not said in the Revelations, "He that hath understanding let him compute the number and name of the beast."

Now Unity² is not a number, but the common measure and original of numbers; multiplied by itself it produceth nothing but itself; if divided it is not cut, but multiplied into parts, each of which still is unity, not more nor less. Therefore some call it concord or friendship, being so

¹ Cap. iii. p. cii.

² Cap. iiii. p. ciii.

knit that it cannot be divided ; but Martian, according to the opinion of Aristotle, calls it Cupid, or desire, because as one only and beyond itself having nothing, it bewails and torments itself. From one all things proceed, of one all things partake. In the exemplary world there is one God, and his name Iod is written with one letter ; in the intellectual world there is one supreme intelligence, the soul of the world ; in the celestial world one king of stars, the sun ; in the elemental world one subject and instrument of all virtues, natural and supernatural, the philosopher's stone ; in the lesser world one first living and last dying, chief member of the body, the heart ; in the infernal world there is one Prince of Rebellion, Lucifer.

Two¹ is the first number, because it is the first expressing multitude ; it is the first procreation, the first form of parity and equity. It is called the number of science, and of man, the other and the lesser world ; also the number of charity, of marriage, and society, as it was said, They twain shall be one flesh. And Solomon teaches it is better that two be together, and woe be to him that is alone, because when he falls he hath not another to help him. Two is sometimes also regarded as the number of confusion and uncleanness, especially unhappy to astrologers when it occurs under a saturnine or a martial influence. Unclean beasts went by twos into the ark. Unity, it is said, was God ; duality was a devil ; therefore, say

¹ Two to ten occupy for each number a chapter, and extend, therefore, to cap. xiii. p. cxxxi.

the Pythagoreans, two is not a number, but a confusion of unities. This number, it is also reported, will cause fearful goblins to appear to men travelling by night. There is a divine name of two letters, and it may here at once be said that there is a divine name answering as to its letters to each number up to twelve, and to each number a certain set of things answers in the scale of worlds under the divine or exemplary, namely, the intellectual, celestial, elementary, lesser, and infernal.

Three is a holy, powerful, uncompounded number of perfection. It is the number of the trinity. Three comprehends all time—past, present, and future; all space—length, breadth, and thickness. There are three states of existence for a man—under nature, law, and grace; there are three heavenly virtues—Faith, Hope, Charity; there are the three worlds—Intellectual, Celestial, and Elemental; and in man—the lesser world—three parts, which correspond to them—Brain to the Intellectual, Heart to the Celestial, and the viler parts to the Elemental.

But the Pythagoreans preferred before all others, as the fountain of nature, the number four, called the Tetractis, and by it they swore. It signifies solidity, and the foundations of all things are laid foursquare. There are four elements, four corners of the earth, four seasons, four qualities of things—heat, cold, moisture, and dryness. Most nations have written the divine name with four letters. There are four evangelists, and in Revelations

there are said to be four beasts full of eyes standing round about the throne.

The number five is of no small power, inasmuch as it is composed of the first even and the first odd (unity not being regarded as a number); but odd is male, and even female. Therefore this is the number of wedlock, as the Pythagoreans say; and they call it also the number of justice, because it divides ten, the number which contains all others, in an even scale. There are five senses, there were five wounds, and five is a number associated intimately with the cross. By this number evil demons are expelled, and poison is made harmless. The five-lettered name of the Deity is the name of omnipotence. Under the rule of nature, the divine trigrammaton—the three-lettered name—was used; under law, the tetragrammaton; but under the rule of grace, the pentagram.

Six is the number of perfection; having this perfection in itself, shared by no other, that by the assemblage of its half, its third part, and its sixth part, three, two, one, it is made perfect. Therefore it is connected with production, and is called the sign of the world, for in six days the world was made complete. It is also the number of labour and servitude: for six days shalt thou labour, for six years shalt thou till the earth, and for six years the Hebrew slave obeyed his master. There are six tones also in all harmony, namely, five tones and two semi-tones making one tone, which is the sixth.

Very many are the powers of the number seven, for it consists of unity and six, of two and five, of three and

four, and absorbs into itself the dignity of its components. Pythagoreans have entitled it the vehicle of life, for it contains body and soul; the body is of four elements, spirit, flesh, bone, and humour, affected with four qualities, choleric, sanguine, phlegmatic, melancholic; but the soul is triple, made of reason, passion, and desire. Again, from the moment of conception all the stages of man's life are performed by sevens, and with the completion of the tenth seven he has reached the appointed number of his years. The extreme height to which man can attain is seven feet. There are seven main parts of the body; beyond seven hours life cannot go on without breath; beyond seven days life cannot go on without food. The seventh days in disease are critical. The moon, the seventh of the planets, and the nearest to us, observes always this number in her courses. The sacred power of this number is great; it is the oath number, and among the Hebrews to seven meant to swear. It is also the number of blessing and of rest, for on the seventh day He rested who blessed it. It is also the number of purification, as was seen when Elijah bade the leper wash seven times in Jordan, and the seventh year was set aside for penitence and remission of sins. Seven is the number of the petitions in the Lord's Prayer, and it is the number not only of prayer, but also of praise, as says the prophet, "Seven times a day will I praise thee." This number is allied to twelve, for out of three added to four comes seven, but out of three multiplied by four comes twelve. A very long list has, of course, to be cited of the sacred things and mysteries

associated by the ancients generally and in Scripture with the number seven. There are seven planets, seven wise men, seven openings in a man's head, seven angels standing before the throne—Zaphkiel, Zadkiel, Raphael, Camael, Haniel, Michael, Gabriel.

Eight is, according to the Pythagoreans, the number of justice and plenitude. If divided it forms perfect and equal halves, and if twice divided there is still equality in its division; therefore it is the number of justice. This number also represents eternity and the consummation of the world, because it follows seven, which is the symbol of this life and time. Therefore, also, it is the number of blessedness; and eight is the number of those who are declared blessed, namely, the peacemakers, those who hunger and thirst after righteousness, the meek, the persecuted for righteousness' sake, the pure in heart, the merciful, the poor in spirit, they that mourn.

Nine is the number of the muses, and of the moving spheres that sing in harmony together. Calliope is attached to the outer sphere, or primum mobile, Urania to the starry heaven, Polyhymnia to Saturn, Terpsichore to Jupiter, Clio to Mars, Melpomene to the Sun, Erato to Venus, Euterpe to Mercury, Thalia to the Moon. There are nine orders of blessed angels, and the number has occult relation to the highest mysteries, for it was at the ninth hour that the Holy Spirit came. Astrologers observe nine years in a man's life; and nine has also relation to imperfection, incompleteness, as wanting one of ten, as St. Augustine interpreted concerning the ten lepers.

Nor are we to suppose that there is no meaning in the length of nine cubits ascribed to Og, King of Basan, who is the type of the devil.

Ten is called the complete number, because there is no counting beyond it except by combinations formed with it and with the other numbers, of which every one may be obtained out of it by some form of decomposition. Therefore the ancients called their sacred ceremonies denary, initiation being preceded by ten days of abstinence. There were ten chords to the psalter, and ten instruments of music to which psalms were sung. The first effluence of the One source of all was ternary, then denary into the ten sephiroth, and there are in all tens the trace of a divine principle.

The number eleven is not sacred, but twelve is divine¹. Eleven exceeds the number of the commandments, and falls short of twelve, which is of grace or perfection; yet sometimes it hath from God a gratuitous favour, as in the case of him who was called to the vineyard in the eleventh hour. Twelve is the number of signs in the Zodiac, of chief joints in the body of a man, of the tribes of Israel, of the Apostles, and of the gates of the Heavenly Jerusalem. Of the numbers above twelve² the mysteries are evolved on a like principle, and determined also by a reduction of them to their elements as multiples of the first ten. Cornelius describes the most important from which it will suffice to select eighteen and twenty as un-

¹ *De Occ. Phil.* Lib. ii. cap. xiiii. ed. cit. p. cxxx.

² Cap. xv. p. cxxxvi.

fortunate, because in the former Israel served Eglon, King of Moab, in the other, Jacob served and Joseph was sold; twenty-two as the fulness of wisdom, for it is the number of the Hebrew letters and the number of the books of the Old Testament; twenty-eight as a number favoured by the moon; forty as the number of expiation, for in the time of the Deluge it rained forty days, the children of Israel were detained forty years in the wilderness, the destruction of Nineveh was put off during forty days, forty days fasted Moses, and Elias, and the Lord. Fifty signifies remission and liberty. The number a hundred, in which the lost sheep was found, is holy, and because it consists of tens, shows a complete perfection; but the complement of all numbers is a thousand, which is the cube of the number ten, signifying a complete and absolute perfection. Plato in his Republic also celebrates two numbers, which are not disallowed by Aristotle in his Politics, namely, the square and cube of twelve, which last number, 1728, is fatal: to which when any city or commonwealth hath attained it shall decline. And let thus much suffice for numbers in particular.

Certain gestures used by the magicians, seemingly absurd, are meant to express numbers by notation on the body¹. Cornelius gives a set of rules from Bede, and refers to others in the Arithmetic of Brother Luca de Burgo. They are of this kind: when you would express one, bend the little finger of the left hand over the palm; when you would express a thousand, put the

¹ Cap. xvi. p. cxxxviii.

left hand on the breast, the fingers pointing towards heaven; when expressing sixty thousand, hold the left thigh with the left hand, fingers downwards. The next chapter is on the various notes of numbers used among the Romans, with which is set the notation commonly used with magical characters—a cross to represent ten, a small horizontal line touching its lower limb to represent another five; short upright strokes for units; a circle for a hundred; and the same circle placed over any of the before-mentioned signs to represent that number of hundreds. The next two chapters¹ describe the notation by letters of Greeks, Hebrews, and Chaldeans, and include the depiction of a peculiar system of marks used for notation in two very ancient books of the astrologers and magicians.

By extracting the significance of numbers from the letters in a name, occult truths may be discovered², as was shown by the Pythagoreans. This is the science of Arithmancy. If you desire to know the horoscope of any one, compute his name and that of his father and mother, add them and divide by twelve; if the remainder be one, he is under Leo; if two, under Aquarius, &c. Let no one marvel at these mysteries. The Most High created all things by number, measure, and weight, and nothing that was done was casual, but all was by a certain divine rule.

Moreover, the Pythagoreans have attributed certain numbers to each god or planet, and each element³; one

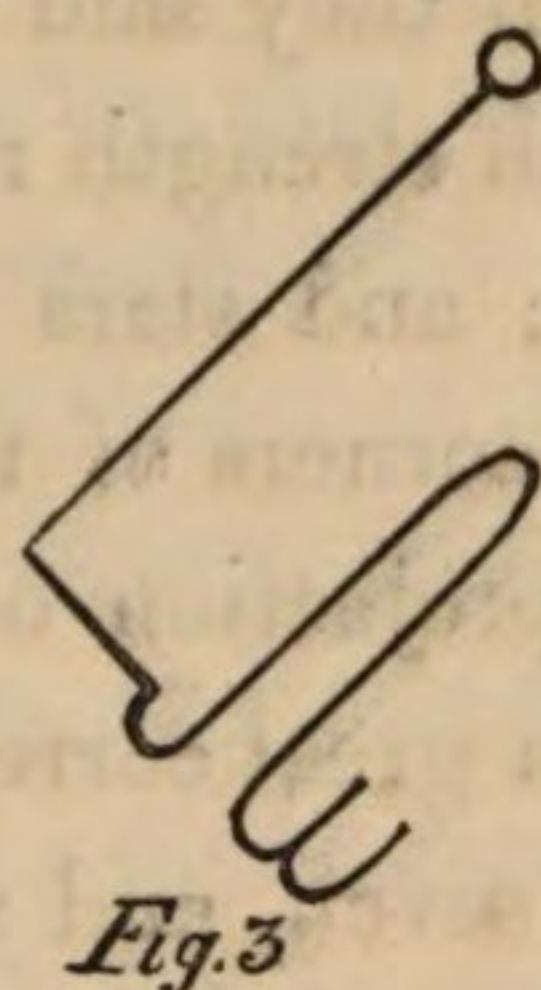
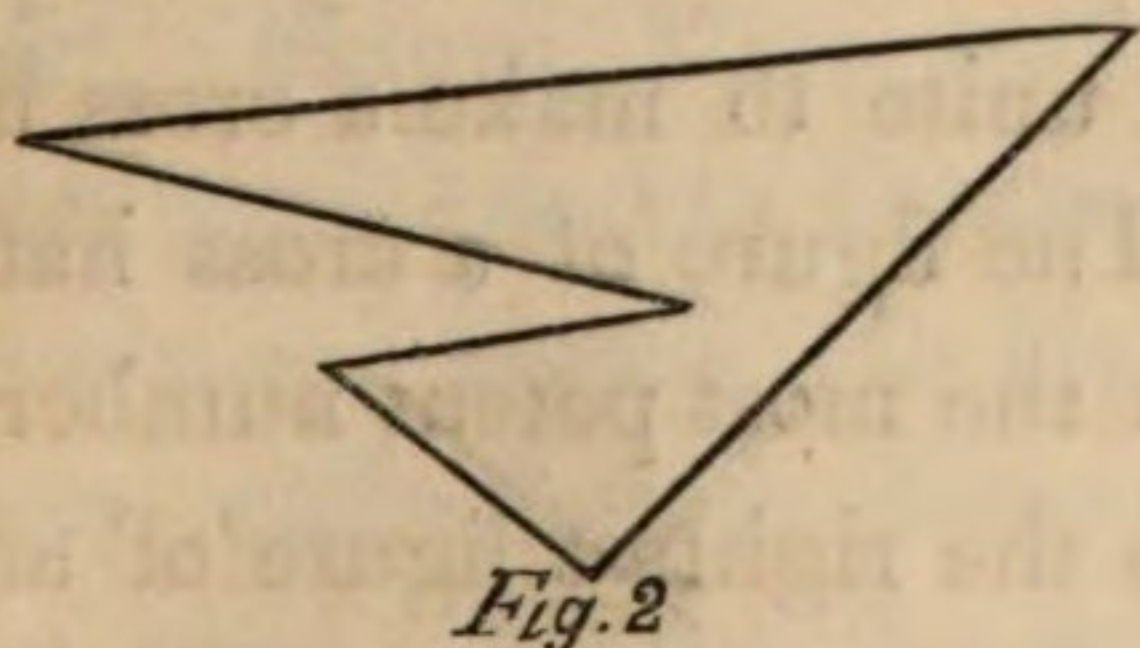
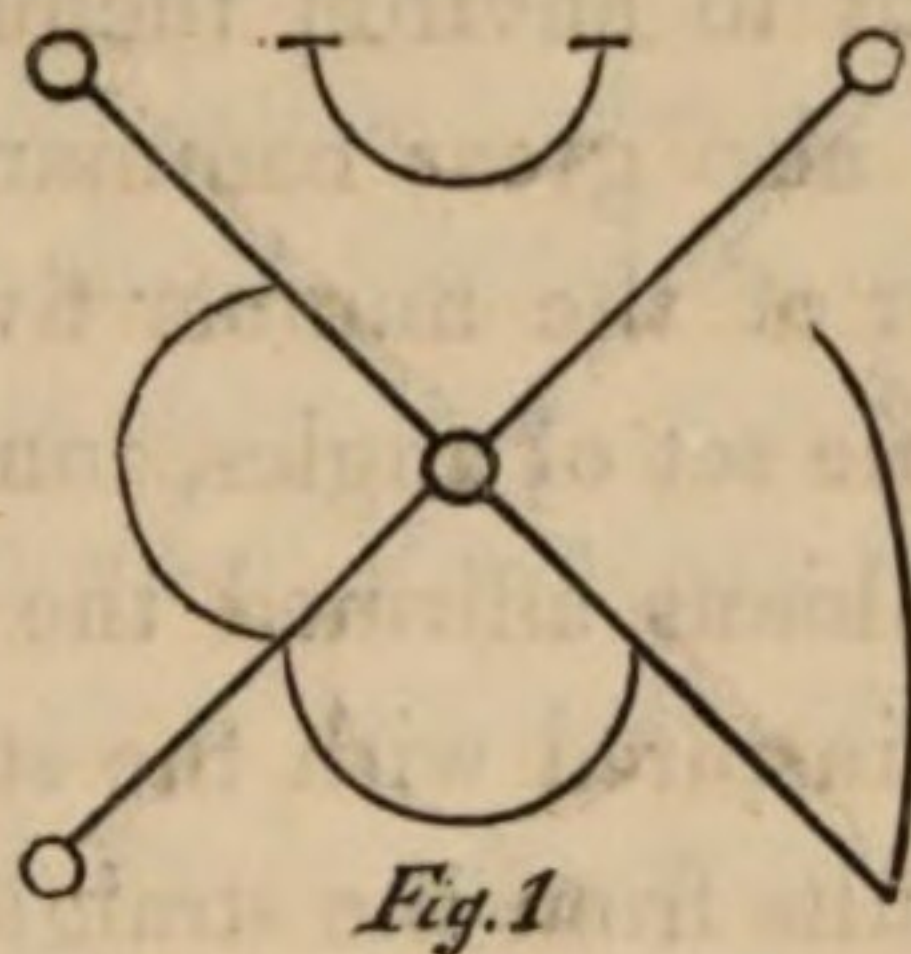
¹ Cap. xviii. and xix. ² Cap. xx. p. cxliii. ³ Cap. xxi. p. cxliiii.

to the sun, two to the moon, three to the three fortunate planets, Sun, Jupiter, Venus, and so forth ; eight to air, five to fire, six to earth, and twelve to water. Each of the seven planets has also a sacred table¹, endowed with many great celestial virtues, representing the divine order of numbers impressed upon it by the superior Idea acting through the soul of the world, and the most sweet harmony of their celestial rays, which can be expressed only by images that represent the supramundane intelligences, and can be informed by them with their power. The sacred tables for each planet are then given with the sacred seals or signs of itself, its intelligence, and its demon or spirit. The tables are in squares, progressively enlarging ; we take as an illustration the third, that of Mars :

11	24	7	20	3
4	12	25	8	16
17	5	13	21	9
10	18	1	14	22
23	6	19	2	15

Beside this is placed a version of it in the Hebrew notation, and beneath it these figures, the seals of Mars, 1, of its intelligence, 2, and of its demon, 3 :

¹ Cap. xxii. pp. cxlv.-cliii.



Now, if these sacred tables and characters are engraven at a time when the planet is auspicious on an iron plate, or sword, it makes a man powerful in war and judgment, terrible to enemies ; and if they be engraven upon cornelian, it arrests a flow of blood ; but if the tables and characters be drawn when Mars is inauspicious on a plate of red brass, such a plate causes discord among men and beasts, drives away bees, pigeons, or fish, stops mills, deprives men of fortune in the chase, and compels the enemies of its possessor to submit themselves to him.

From arithmetic we turn to geometry. Partly from the mystery of numbers, partly from the mystery of form, arises the power of geometrical figures. The circle answering to unity and ten, the largest and most perfect of lines, being indeed infinite, is judged to be most fit for bindings and conjurations ; whence they who adjure

evil spirits are wont to environ themselves with a circle. A pentangle hath also great command over evil spirits, through the power of the number five, and through the mystery of its double set of angles, inner and outer. The Egyptians and Arabians affirmed the power of the cross, which they said is inspired with the strength of the stars, which strength results from the straightness of angles and rays; and stars are then most potent when they occupy four corners of the heaven, and unite to make a cross by the projection of their rays. The figure of a cross hath also a great correspondency with the most potent numbers, five, seven, and nine. It is also the rightest figure of all, containing four right angles. The power of these signs, let it always be remembered, is not in the things themselves, but in the reflexion from them as it were by echo of the higher powers, which they attract by their correspondency and harmony. We must not pass over here the figures which Pythagoras and his followers assigned to the elements and the heavens—a cube to the earth, a pyramid to fire, a dodecahedron to the heavens, and so forth. By such knowledge many wonderful things may be done with glasses; and I have learnt, adds Cornelius, how to make glasses by which any one may see what he pleases at a very great distance¹.

From geometry we turn to the harmony of music; and, in the first place, a chapter of recorded marvels² illustrates

¹ "Et ego novi ex illis miranda conficere, et specula in quibus quis videre poterit quæcunque voluerit a longissima distantia."

² Cap. xxiv. p. clv.

the mighty power of sound. Then follows the ancient theory concerning the harmonious tones and motions of the heavens, with a slight discussion on the music of the voice,—which carries subtle soul with it into the souls of others,—the mechanism of the voice, the music of instruments, and the air as a condition necessary to the perception of all sound by human ears. After this we are told what sound and harmony is correspondent with each star¹. Saturn, Mars, and the Moon, have more of voice than music: and to Saturn belong hoarse, heavy, and slow words and sounds; to Mars, rough, sharp, and menacing ones; while there is observed by the Moon a mean between the two. Jupiter, the Sun, Venus, and Mercury, possess harmonies: those of Jupiter are grave, sober, and yet pleasant; those of Mercury, more careless, various, merry, and pleasant, with a certain boldness. The ancients, who used four strings only, assigned them to the four elements; the bass was earth, then followed water and fire, and air was the treble. This part of the book goes very minutely into the correspondence of the musical laws with all the harmonies of nature, explains the belief that a harmonious set of musical intervals will denote the distances between the planets, and discovers also a musical harmony in the relations of the elements to one another. A chapter of some length, illustrated with seven woodcuts², then displays some of the proportion and harmony in a man's body; and a chapter follows that, upon the harmony of the soul. Man is the most perfect work of God, the sum

¹ Cap. xxvi. p. clviii.² Cap. xxvii. p. clx.

and image of the lesser world; in whom, therefore, with the most perfect harmony, are contained all numbers, measures, weights, motions, and elements. On the number of his fingers has arithmetic been built; measures and proportions were invented from his very joints; temples and palaces, by divine order the Ark of Noah, have been constructed in proportion to man's body, which is the microcosm, or lesser world, that images the macrocosm, or whole fabric. There is no sign or star that has not correspondence with some part of man. The whole measure tends to roundness; yet again, let a man stretch out his arms, and his feet, head, and hands touch the four sides of a perfect square. Let him stand within the circumference of a circle, with his feet so much parted and his arms so much raised as that feet, fingers, and head touch its circumference, then by these parts is there described within that circle a perfect pentagon. Man is next shown in various other positions, which display the geometrical and arithmetical harmony of his proportions. A very minute detail of proportions follows, which descends even to such particulars as that the second joint of the middle finger is in length equal to the distance from the lower lip to the bottom of the chin. There are also proportions of solid form, proportions of musical harmony, proportions of weight (in a sound man, eight of blood, four of phlegm, two of choler, one of melancholy).

The motions, also, of the members of men's bodies answer to the celestial motions, and every man hath in himself the

motion of his heart, which answers to the motion of the sun, and, being diffused through the arteries into the whole body, signifies by a most sure rule, years, months, days, hours, and minutes. Moreover, there is a certain nerve found by the anatomists about the nod of the neck, which being touched doth so move all the members of the body, that every one of them stirs according to its proper motion; by which like touch Aristotle thinks the members of the world are moved by God. The application of the same rule of harmony to the several parts of the mind is made on the same principle, but with less fulness of detail.

We turn next to the harmonies of the celestial bodies. No magical work is to be undertaken without observation of them¹, and particularly, in all works, of the moon, also of Mercury the messenger between the higher and the lower gods, who when he is with the good increases goodness, and when with the bad increases evil. When planets are most powerful—in exaltation, or triplicity, or term, or face—and how to observe and know the temper of the fixed stars, Cornelius discusses in the next two chapters, after which we get specially to the sun and moon, and to their magical considerations². They rule the heavens, and all under them; the sun, lord of the elements, the moon, mistress of increase and decrease. The sun is consonant to God; in its essence is the Father imaged, in its light the Son, and in its heat the Holy Ghost. But the

¹ Cap. xxix. p. clxxi.

² Cap. xxxii. p. cxliiii.

moon, as the receptacle of heavenly influences, and as it were the wife of all the stars, is nearest to the earth, on which she pours the superior influences which she hath received; and by this planet, on account of her familiarity and propinquity, a stronger influence is exercised on the inferiors that here receive her power in a stream.

Now to the moon, measuring the whole zodiac in twenty-eight days, there were appointed by the wise men of the Indians and most ancient astrologers twenty-eight mansions¹, and in each the moon obtaineth some especial power. The first is called Alnath, or the Ram's Horns; its beginning is from the head of Aries, and it causes discords, journeys. The second is Allothaim, or Albochan, the Ram's Belly; its beginning is from the twelfth degree of the same sign, fifty-one minutes, twenty-two seconds; it conduces to the finding of treasures, the retaining of captives. In this manner Cornelius goes on to define the whole twenty mansions, in which lie hidden many secrets of the wisdom of the ancients, by the which they wrought wonders on all things that are under the circle of the moon; and they attributed to every mansion its resemblances, images, and seals, and its presiding intelligences, and they did work by the virtue of them after divers manners.

It is necessary, also, to observe the true movements of the heavenly bodies in the eighth sphere, and to take note of the planetary hours², the hours of a day being apportioned successively by astrologers to planets, begin-

¹ Cap. xxxiii. p. cxlv.

² Cap. xxxiiii. p. cxlvi.

ning with the one that is lord of the day. Thirteen chapters¹ follow on the images by which power may be drawn from planets, stars, signs of the zodiac, and houses of the moon. All images are powerful; St. Thomas Aquinas says, in his book *De Fato*, that even garments, houses, fountains, do by their form receive a certain qualification from the stars. So certain images on seals, rings, glasses, do bring certain powers down, and that most efficaciously, if such seals, rings, or glasses be made at a fit time of material fitly chosen. The stars in the heavens form traceable images that have been set down by the Egyptians, Indians, and Chaldeans, who have for this reason placed twelve general images in the circle of the zodiac. The pictures of such signs acting in suitable triplicities, are powerful: thus, Cancer, Scorpio, and Pisces, because they constitute the watery and northern triplicity, prevail against dry and hot fevers. Then there are also thirty-six images placed in the zodiac according to the number of its faces; Cornelius describes each, and states what its power is. Thus, in the first face of Aries, ascends the image of a black man, clothed in a white garment, large-bodied, reddish-eyed, strong, and displaying anger. This image signifies and causes boldness, fortitude, loftiness and shamelessness. Each planet has a variety of images, and for the power of each image it is proper to depict it on a stated sort of stone, metal, &c. Each image so depicted represents and exerts one of the virtues of the planet. Thus, Saturn ascending, draw upon a load-

¹ Cap. xxxv.-xlvii. pp. clxxvi.-clxxxix.

stone Saturn as a man with a stag's face, and camel's feet, carrying a scythe in his right hand, a dart in his left, and sitting on a dragon; that image was expected to be profitable for the lengthening of life. An image of Saturn on cast metal, as a beautiful man, was promised to foretell things to come. The Egyptians and Phœnicians did use also a certain image¹, the head and tail of the dragon of the moon (cause of its eclipses), to introduce, where it was worn, anguish, infirmity, and misfortune. They made also images for every mansion of the moon; as, for example, in the first, for the destruction of some one, they made in an iron ring the image of a black man in a garment of hair and girdled, casting a small lance with his right hand; they sealed this in black wax, and perfumed it with liquid storax, and wished some evil to come. Cornelius specifies in the same way the images used for the other twenty-seven mansions. He adds the images used to obtain virtue from the chief of the fixed stars, or constellations: as, under the Pleiades, they made the image of a little maiden, or the figure of a lamp; its power was said to increase the light of the eyes, to raise winds, assemble spirits, reveal secret things.

There are other figures formed out of arrangements of stars which are ascribed to elements, planets, and heavenly signs, which have like power to that of images, and which are described in books on Geomancy. Cornelius shows some of them to his reader.

Two chapters follow upon the magical use of images

¹ Cap. xlviii. p. clxxxix.

not drawn after celestial figures¹, but according to the worker's thought: as when to procure love one makes images embracing one another, to procure damage, broken images of that which we would destroy,—all which Albertus Magnus describes in his *Speculum*. Such images are made diversely and sometimes buried, sometimes hung on a tree to wave in the wind, sometimes within a chimney to be smoked, sometimes kept with the head downwards and sometimes with the head up. The art of making these is astrological. Thus, for gain, let there be made an image under the ascendant of the nativity of the man, or under the ascension of that place to which you would appoint the gain, and you must make the lord of the second house, which is in the house of substance, to be joined with the lord of the ascendant in the trine or sextile, and let there be a reception amongst them; you must make fortunate the eleventh and the lord thereof, and, if you can, put part of the fortune in the ascendant or second; and let the image be buried in that place, or carried from that place, to which you would appoint the gain.

The next chapter² is on characters, deduced out of geomantical figures from the true characters of the heavens, which are the writing of the angels, Malachim, describing in the sky all things to the man competent to read. There are also characters not taken from celestials, but adapted, as in the case of images lately described, to a thought of them within the mind³. In this way, the characters of the

¹ Cap. xlix. L, pp. exci.-exciii.

² Cap. li. p. exciii.

³ Cap. lii. p. excvi.

Ram and Bull were taken from their horns, ♈ ♉, that of Aquarius from waters, ♒, and so with the rest. And the sign of Saturn was deduced from a sickle, that of Jupiter from a sceptre, that of Mars from a bolt of war, of Venus from a looking-glass, of Mercury from a wand. In the same way characters have been formed to represent various combinations of signs, stars, and natures.

Of all operations in occult science there is not one that is not rooted in astrology¹, of which science, since "huge volumes are everywhere extant," Cornelius does not think it necessary to detail the principles. By the use of dice made under certain celestial influences future destinies may be divined. Nor is it a blind chance that works in divination by lot², by throwing cockles, opening a page of Virgil, or in other ways. For, as the Platonists teach, accident can be in no case the prime sufficient cause, we must look higher, and find out, therefore, in these matters, a cause which may know and govern the effect. Now this is not material but immaterial, and may be in men's souls, in departed spirits, in celestial intelligences, or in God himself. The power of man's own mind strongly exerted may control dead matter and direct the lot aright, but lest such exertion proved too weak, the ancients were used, before the casting of the lot, by sacred performances to summon the divine intelligences to their aid.

Now the heavens cannot exercise so many influences as a mere body, but they must be animated by a living soul, and upon the soul of the world depends the vigour of

¹ Cap. liii. p. cxcviii.

² Cap. liiii. p. cxcix.

inferior things. This doctrine has been held by the poets and philosophers¹, and is confirmed by reason². The World has a soul and, as it was said in the former book, also a spirit. For it would be absurd to assume life in parts of the world, as flies and worms, and to deny life and soul to the entire world as a most perfect and noble body; to say that heavens, stars, elements give life and soul to things below, yet themselves have not that which they give. The soul of the world and the celestial souls partake of the divine reason³. The reason of terrene things is in the earth, of watery things in the water, each part works in its place, and hurts made in each are by itself repaired. Shall we, having reason, say that souls higher than ours have it not; and when, as saith Plato, the world is made by very Goodness itself, as well as it was possible to make it, shall we deny that it is endowed with not only life, sense, reason, but also with understanding. For the perfection of the body is the soul, and that body is more perfect which hath a more perfect soul. It is necessary, then, seeing celestial bodies are most perfect, that they have also most perfect minds. They partake, therefore, of an intellect and a mind. This also the Platonists prove by the perseverance of their order and tenor; because motion is of its nature free, it may easily swerve and wander now one way, now another, unless it be ruled by an intellect and a mind, and that also by a perfect mind foreseeing from the beginning the best way and chief end. "For bodies resist not a most

¹ Cap. lv. p. cc.² Cap. lvi. p. cci.³ Cap. lvii. p. ccii.

powerful soul, and a perfect mind doth not change its counsel." So writes the youth; and who shall scorn him if he saw a living soul bestowed by God where we see what we are too apt to forget ourselves in thinking are dead laws of divine ordinance? Thus he goes on: "The soul of the world, therefore, is a certain one thing filling all things, bestowing all things, binding and knitting together all things, that it might make one frame of the world, and that it might be, as it were, one instrument, making of many strings one music, sounding from three kinds of creatures, intellectual, celestial, and incorruptible, with one only breath and life."

Then follows a chapter on the Orphic names of the celestial spirits ruling man¹—names, says Cornelius, not "of evil deceiving spirits, but of natural and divine powers, distributed to the world by the true God, for the service and profit of man, who knows how to use them." Then follows a chapter of the epithets and various names given to each of the seven governors of the world, the Planets, in magical speech²; chiefly they are those used by Latin poets. Finally, in the sixtieth and last chapter of his second book of Occult Science, Cornelius shows how, by his aspiration towards, and his invocation of, superior things, man may ascend into the intelligible world, and become like to the more sublime spirits and intelligences. He represents man, as it were, ascending Jacob's ladder, on which angels throng, striving to reach to the thoughts and to the purity of those who are above it, at the very

¹ Cap. lviii. p. cciii.

² Cap. lix. p. cciii.

gate of heaven ; seeking to strike one end of the chord of harmony which runs through spiritual realms, each one holier and purer than the last, and which shall vibrate at length even with his thought before the throne of God. He teaches that we must aspire upward, but even upward only to the souls of things ; not to the visible glory of the sun, the king of stars, but to the soul of it, and become like to it, and comprehend the intelligible light thereof with an intellectual sight, as the sensible light with a corporeal eye. But while seeking this, his closing counsel is, that “in the first place we must implore assistance from the First Author, and pray not only with the mouth but with a religious gesture and a supplicating soul—also abundantly, incessantly, sincerely—that He would enlighten our minds, and remove the darkness gathering upon our souls by reason of our bodies.”

CHAPTER X.

OF THE THIRD AND LAST BOOK OF OCCULT PHILOSOPHY.

EARNEST thoughts closed Cornelius Agrippa's Second Book of Magic, and an earnest theme engages him throughout the third. It is upon the secrets of religion. He begins with an exaltation of piety¹, passes then to an enforcement of the rule of silence², observed in all ages as to the most sacred mysteries, and accepts the necessity of a reticence on his own part as regards the most occult and sacred of the truths that wisdom has discovered. The student of magic must by the same rule secrete, and more than that, must dignify himself³ by a forsaking of all sensual pleasures, and by seeking all means that encourage high and holy contemplation, so that he may purify and exalt his intellect, while he at the same time purifies and subdues his flesh, avoiding contact with unclean things, taking part with a true reverence and with a strong faith in all rites of the Church, and labouring in all things to become as meet as man may be for the companionship of angels. Magical operations are ruled by Religion or

¹ *De Occ. Phil.* Lib. iii. cap. i. (ed. cit.) p. ccix.

² Cap. ii. p. ccix.

³ Cap. iii. p. ccxi.

by Superstition¹. Religion is a steady contemplation of divine things, and the uniting of oneself with God by good works and household worship. It is obedience to the Church as a mother, and to God as a father, from whom all benefits are taken, as saith the Rabbi Henitia, by theft if not with thanks. It is obedience to the teacher of the nations, who said, "Whatsoever you shall do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, giving thanks to him, and to God the Father by him." Every religion has in it something good, for it is directed to our Father and Creator; and though God allows of one religion only, yet he leaves not unrewarded those who have performed the chief duty of man, if not in deed, yet in intention. Now worship that is different from true religion, or that imitates its forms but contains not its true meaning, is superstition, as in the excommunication of locusts, and the baptism of bells. And by this method, through a strong will and belief, wonders may be worked, superstition working by credulity as true religion works by faith. But in superstition there is evil, and the danger of yet more evil. If in this book superstitious practices are described, they are here set down only as records of error from which to elicit truth.

Religion has three guides²—Love, Hope, and Faith. Love is the chariot of the soul—love brings us near to God, gives power to our prayers. Belief that is faith is above science, as belief that is credulity is below science. It is the root of miracles, and there is nothing incredible

¹ Cap. iiii. p. ccxiii.

² Cap. v. p. ccxv.

for him who believes all things to be possible with God. Therefore, our mind being pure and divine, inflamed with a religious love, adorned with hope, by faith directed, placed on the height and summit of the human soul, draws truth down from above. So we, though natural, come to perceive things that are above nature, and by religion alone a man may attain to power over spiritual things and shall work miracles¹. But if he works them by the sole strength of his spiritual virtue, if he persevere in such work, he cannot live long, but is absorbed by the divine power. And whoso attempts this, being impure, brings judgment down on his own head, and is delivered over to the evil spirit to be devoured. No wonders can be worked by him who knows not that there is a supreme God²; and among the heathens Jupiter was the name of the great king who produced the soul of the world, while other gods were secondary gods, or second causes. Augustine and Porphyry testify that the Platonists recognised three persons in God³—the Father, the Son, or first mind, and the Spirit, or soul of the world. Agrippa's chapter on this subject contains a curious account of the different forms of belief concerning the divine nature, recorded as having been entertained of old time in various parts of the world, and of the references in them to the Son and Spirit. The next chapter⁴ devoutly states, in words appointed by the Church, what is the creed of "the catholic doctors and faithful people of God."

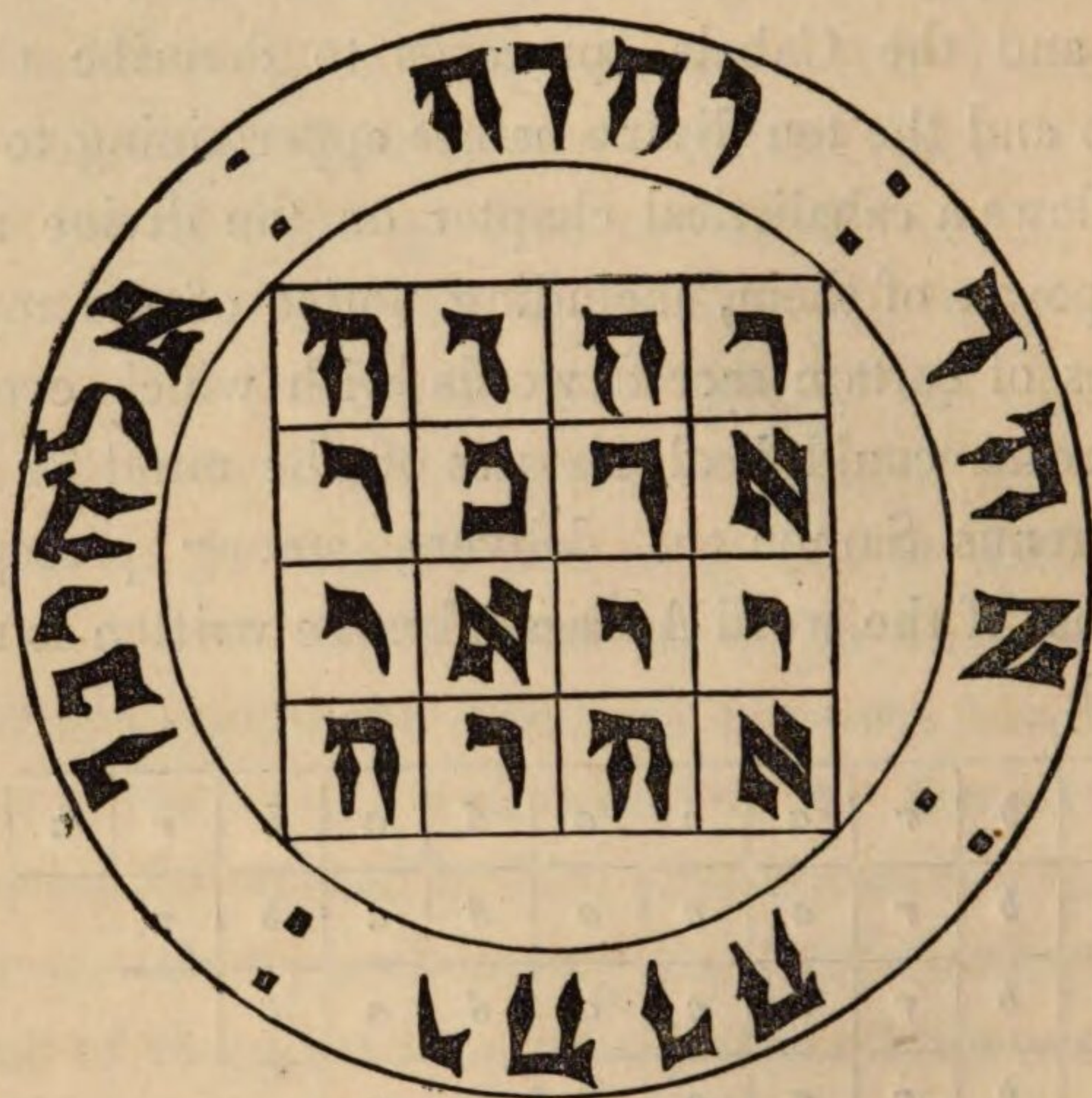
¹ Cap. vi. p. ccxvi.² Cap. vii. p. ccxix.³ Cap. viii. p. ccxxi.⁴ Cap. ix. p. ccxxiii.

The tenth chapter of the third book having identified the heathen deities with attributes called by the Hebrews Numerations, showing analogies between the Orphic Hymns and the Cabala, proceeds to describe the ten sephiroth and the ten divine names appertaining to them. Then follows a cabalistical chapter on the divine names, and the power of them, including notice of the mystical properties of certain sacred words with which even the Pythagoreans could heal diseases of the mind or body. Also Serenus Samonicus delivers, among precepts of physic, that if the word Abracadabra be written as is here expressed,

<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>a</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>r</i>	
<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>		
<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>a</i>			
<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>d</i>				
<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>a</i>					
<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>c</i>						
<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>a</i>							
<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>r</i>								
<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>									
<i>a</i>										

paper or parchment so inscribed, and hung about the neck, will cure all kinds of fever. But Rabbi Hama, in his book on Speculation, gives a sacred seal, composed of divine names, more efficacious, since it cures all diseases

and heals all griefs whatsoever. The obverse and reverse of it are as here depicted:



But all this must be written by a most holy man on the purest gold or virgin parchment, with ink made of the smoke of incense or of consecrated waxlights mixed with holy water. It must be used with an infallible faith, a constant hope, and a mind lifted to communion with Heaven. Neither let any man marvel at this power of sacred words, through which God worked in the creation.

The influence of divine names flowing through middle causes into all inferior things¹ is next discussed, and it is shown how modern cabalists among the Hebrews cannot work the marvels that their fathers worked, because all things are now obedient to the one divine name, which they do not recognise. The ascription in Scripture of the names of limbs to the diverse and manifold powers that abide in God is next illustrated². Man, it is said, is made in the divine image, with such limbs as representatives of the divine powers, as signs between which there is kept just order and proportion; whence the Mecubals of the Hebrews say, that if a man capable of the divine influence do make any member of his body clean and free from filthiness, then it becomes the *habitaculum* and proper seat of the secret limb of God and of the power thereby designated. The next chapter is on the gods of the ancients, as described by their philosophers, and details the several places and countries consecrated to them. It is then shown³ that the Catholic Church believes the stars to be not themselves animated, but peopled by cer-

¹ Cap. xii. p. ccxxxiii.

² Cap. xiii. p. ccxxxiiii.

³ Cap. xv. p. ccxxxviii.

tain divine souls not free from the stain of sin. Upon this topic various authorities are quoted.

But of intelligences, angels, and infernal or subterranean spirits¹, there are angels supercelestial, who work only near the throne; angels celestial, who rule over the spheres, and are divided as to order and nature, according to the stars over which they have rule. Finally, there is a third class of angels, who are ministers of grace below, attend invisibly upon us, protect us, help or hinder us, as they consider fit. These are divided also into four orders, according with the four elements and the four powers—mind, reason, imagination, and activity. There are angels of places, as of woods and mountains, whence the heathen drew ideas of gods; and there are angels diurnal, nocturnal, or meridional. There are as many legions of these angels, it is said, as there are stars in heaven, and in each legion as many spirits. Augustine and Gregory say that an equal number of unclean spirits correspond to them. Some other interpretations are given of their number and nature; after which the youth writes again an orthodox chapter, to correct any appearances of heresy, inscribed “Of these according to the Theologians.” The next is a long chapter on the various orders of devils, which, as the subject was a dangerous one in a book on what would be denounced as the black art, is theological throughout, but shows a difference of opinion among theologians as to their origin and classification. Some think they are all fallen from light, others describe them

¹ Cap. xvi. p. ccxxxiii.

as all black, and arrange them in nine companies, to the third of which belongs "that devil Theutus, who taught cards and dice;" while of the six demons of the air, the chief—prince of the power of the air—is "Meririm: he is the meridian devil, a boiling spirit, a devil raging in the south." Inquest is then held upon the bodies of devils¹. The next chapter is on the annoyance caused by creatures of this sort, and upon the way of obtaining by a pure and holy life the sympathy and aid of purer spirits who excel them in authority and power. It is then shown that, by paying regard to the kind of good genius we desire, whether solary or jovial, or any other, we may seek its special help, and have from it help only according to the influences in connexion with which it exists.

Every man hath a threefold demon²: one holy, which directs the soul and puts good thoughts into the mind; one of nativity—his genius—descending from the stars which ruled his birth: and some think that the soul as it comes down into the body chooses and brings with it a genius for guide: they who have a fortunate genius are, it is said, born to good luck; the third demon that attends a man is that of profession, namely, one pertaining to the profession that he makes of sect or calling secretly desired by his mind, and chosen when the mind is able to take dispositions on itself. According to the nobleness of the profession and a man's earnestness therein is the dignity and power of his demon; and should he change his profession, he must change his demon also. If a profession

¹ Cap. xix. p. ccxlvii.

² Cap. xxii. p. cclii.

suit my nature, then its demon agrees with my genius, and my inner life is the more peaceable, my outer life more prosperous. If I undertake a profession contrary to my genius, I shall be troubled with disagreeing guides and helpers. Let me know, therefore, my good genius and what its nature is. Having found in what path it is most able to lead me forward, let me direct my thoughts chiefly to that. Jacob excelled in strength, Phineas in zeal, Solomon in knowledge, Peter in faith, John in charity, Magdalen in contemplation, Martha in officiousness. Follow not, however, the bent of thy genius if it disagree with thy profession, when that is holiest and best which the demon of nativity opposes, that mean which it seeks. Follow the better path, and thou shalt at some time perceive that it is well.

The means by which angels converse are called the tongues of angels¹ by Saint Paul; we know not how they speak, or how they hear, yet there is a spiritual body possessed by a demon, everywhere sensible, that can drink knowledge in at every pore, as sponges drink in water. Then follows a chapter containing the names of spirits—and their addresses; that is to say, the names of the stars, signs, elements, and corners of the heaven in which they dwell as masters.

The twenty-fifth chapter is on the cabalistical method of deducing names of angels out of Sacred Writ, and includes those tables used for the commutation of letters, whereof the use is known already to the reader. A method

¹ Cap. xxiii. p. ccli.iii.

is then explained of finding out the names of spirits from the stars, by fitting the shape of a Hebrew letter over such of them as it will cover. Some tables are then given and explained, which show how to calculate the names of spirits written in the sky, by a strange index compounded of Hebrew characters and planetary or zodiacal signs¹. There is a way of naming spirits from the stars or signs over which they are set,—as from Aries, Ariel, which is in other languages than Latin, Teletiel, Betuliel, Masniel, and so forth, all these names being used, but those formed from the most sacred languages most potent.

The next three chapters are upon sacred characters, which contain, in a form mystical to us, divine knowledge and power. They are ancient hieroglyphics, whereof the origin is figurative; characters, or letters, found by cabalists among the stars; as well as two other alphabets used by them, one of them called Malachim, and one the Passing of the River. They also divide the twenty-seven Hebrew letters into three classes and nine chambers representing mysteries, blend and again dissect them. But let it be understood that spirits are pure intellect, and cannot be marked with any figures, nor do any marks we make belong to them, or draw them, as marks only; but we take those marks to represent their spiritual power, and by strong belief and veneration, growing to ecstatical adoration of the pure intelligences we have so expressed, we give life from our own soul to our material expression, and, by undoubting hope and love, do in the

¹ Cap. xxv. p. cclvi.

spirit and in truth receive the influences we desire. Some of these characters have not been deduced by any of the means aforesaid, but communicated by direct revelation, as when the sign of the cross was shown to Constantine with the inscription, "In hoc vince."

The summoning of good spirits is easier than the dismissal of them, and it is not difficult, by certain forms and the use of herbs or music suitable, in places frequented by them, to cause the spirits that are always near the earth to appear. Such are the fairies of the fields, the naiads of the streams, the nymphs of the ponds and marshes, the dodonæ who live in acorns, and the paleæ who lurk in fodder. They are easily allured, most easily by those who are single-minded, innocent, and credulous, wherefore they are seen most commonly by children, women, and poor rustics. They are not offensive to the good, but noxious to the wicked; and all the more evil sort may be made impotent by those who meet them with a strength of right more perfect than their strength of wrong. Of adjurations, of the spirits corresponding to objects of old hero-worship, called animastical—or by the Hebrew theologians, Issim—of mortal and terrestrial gods, the next chapters speak¹; and then is discussed the creation of man in the Divine image, a long chapter, to which the theologians and cabalists contribute something, Plato more—the world the image of God, and man the image of the world. The spirit of it has been expressed already in this sketch of Agrippa's doc-

¹ Caps. xxxiii.-xxxv. pp. cclxxx.-cclxxxiii.

trine. In what way body and soul are joined by the celestial vehicle in which the soul at first descends, and which some call the chariot of the soul, is then explained with curious minuteness. Then man's body having been formed, and the soul joined to it, we are shown¹ what gifts are streamed into it, through several planets, and how the temperament, whether mercurial or jovial, is determined. It is shown, also, what gifts come from the thrones, what from the dominations, what from the cherubim, or rather, what through each of these from God.

Chapter the thirty-ninth treats of the origin of evil. How can evil come from a good source? It does not, any more than blear eyes are the fault of light, display the fault of justice. Evil material receiving holy influences turns them to its hurt; but this is due not to the error of the superiors, but to the baser and corruptible material of the inferiors; and the corrupt element in a man's soul is sin. Only because of this can Saturn, with a holy ray, dispose to anguish, obstinacy, blasphemy; or Mars excite to arrogance and wrath. If the ray worked on a pure soul, not upon the sin in an impure one, nothing grievous would arise out of its operation; Saturn would make sound heads steadier, and Mars warm generous hearts.

Again, there is a divine character imprinted upon each of us², whereby we may work marvels. Animals shrink from the bold front of man, and elephants have obeyed even children. Therefore this character is imprinted on man from the divine idea which the cabalists call Pahad.

¹ Cap. xxxviii. p. ccxc.

² Cap. xl. p. ccxciii.

That is the seal by which a man is feared. There is also another seal imprinted upon some, by reason of which they inspire love. That is called Hessed.

The next is the longest chapter in the whole work, upon a topic that had been overlaid by the speculations of all ages. It is entitled "What concerning man after death; diverse opinions." Perceptions of the truth probably exist in the opinions of the ancients. As he who lives by the sword, shall, it was said, die by the sword, so do the deaths of many answer to their lives, and so does the state of all men after death. Yet do the cabalists refuse the doctrine of Pythagoras, that souls which have become bestial take bestial forms; they say, on the contrary, that they return to earth in human frames, and thrice have the opportunity of life thus granted them. Sometimes the souls of the wicked reanimate their polluted corpses, as places of punishment. Such power evil spirits have. But when the body returns earth to earth, the spirit returns to God that gave it, and this spirit is the mind, the pure intelligence that was incapable of sin while in the flesh, however sinned against by passions of the soul and gross delusions of the body. Then if the soul has lived justly it accompanies the mind, and soul and mind together work in the world the righteous will of God, partaking of his power. But the souls that have done evil, parted after death from the mind, wander without intelligence, subject to all the wild distresses of unregulated passion, and by the affinity they have acquired for the grossness of corporeal matter, assimilate to them-

selves and condense, as in a fog, material particles, through which they become sensible again of bodily pain and discomfort. It is believed also that the souls of just Christians preach to the souls of the just Pagans salvation in the name of Christ. Of this tenor seems to be the belief of Cornelius; he speaks of manes, lares, and lemures, but with those Christians who revel in gross images of vindictive torture after death he shows no sympathy at all. He sees the sorest punishment to the base soul in its own baseness; and as to the literal interpretation of the fires of hell, he quotes with a marked approbation these words of Augustine: "It is better to be in doubt concerning secret things than to dispute about them as uncertain. I do not doubt, for example, that we are to believe that rich man to be in the heat of suffering, and that poor Lazarus in the cool shade of joy; but what I am to understand by that infernal fire, that bosom of Abraham, that tongue of the rich, that finger of the poor, that thirst of the tormented, that drop by which it can be cooled, will scarcely be discovered by the patience of research, never by the impatience of contention."

Souls after death remember the past, and retain according to their nature more or less of attraction towards the bodies they inhabited, or other flesh and blood. This is most true of those souls whose bodies are unburied, or were subject to violence; as in the case of malefactors, and about places of execution, or places where slain bodies lie, many such spirits collect by choice, and more are banned to them. Therefore, in evoking spirits of the

dead¹, such places are to be chosen, or churchyards or other ground, to which these spirits most resort; and in the incantation flesh and blood must be used, taken from a person killed by violence, since it is with corporeal vapours, also with eggs, milk, honey, oil, and flour, that departed souls are drawn as by the renewal of a broken link. Now they who use such conjurations, because they perform wonders only by or upon corpses, are called Necromancers; and there are two kinds of necromancy—necromantia, when a corpse is animated; scyomantia, when only a shade is summoned. But for the reunion of souls with bodies occult knowledge is required, to which no man, except by the direct gift of Heaven, can attain.

The next chapter² is on the power of the soul, which consists of mind, reason, and idolum. The mind, of which the light proceeds from God, illuminates the reason, which again flows into the idolum, the power which gives life to the body, receives sensations, and procures for the thoughts bodily expression. In the idolum, again, are two powers—phantasy, before described, and diffused natural sense. Now the mind only is, by nature, divine, eternal; the reason is airy, durable; the idolum, more corporeal, left to itself, perishes. And of the divine light, which is communicated not to all men in the same degree³, by efforts of pious aspiration some men have obtained so full a ray, that it has poured through the reason into the subtle substance of the idolum, and has

¹ Cap. xlii. p. ccciiii.

² Cap. xliii. p. cccvi.

³ Cap. xliiii. p. cccix.

become manifest in its more corporeal essence, as with a visible radiance, so that the whole body, or the nobler part of it, appears to shine. So shone the face of Moses when he came down from the mountain; so have the saints also been sometimes transfigured. Yet there are some men altogether destitute of mind, and their souls wanting the immortal part must perish, though they are to be joined to their bodies again in the resurrection. Happy is he who can increase the light of heaven in his mind, for by it he can work marvels. Cornelius dwells again on the power that grows out of holy purpose, earnest striving, and shows by an instance how the soul may rise superior to bodily concernment. Anaxarchus being thrown into a stone basin, and pounded with iron pestles by order of the tyrant of Cyprus, is said to have cried "Pound away, pound away at my dress; you have not yet bruised Anaxarchus." Thereupon the tyrant ordering his tongue to be cut out, the philosopher immediately bit it off and spat it into the tyrant's face.

Eight chapters follow¹ upon various forms of prophetic power. There is such power by vacation of the body when the spirit is enabled to transcend its bounds, and as a light escaped from a lantern to spread over space; and there is the descent of a divine power imparting itself to the mind. These forms of it are seen in prophetic fury, in rapture, and in prophetic dreams. The fury is a celestial illumination obtained by liberation of the mind from the restrictions of the body; and the philosophers

¹ Cap. xlv.-lii. p. cccx.-cccxxii.

have described four forms of it. One proceeds from the muses. Each of the nine muses gives prophetic power to a certain class of objects; the muses act severally through the seven planets, the whole heaven of stars, and the *primum mobile*, or universal sphere. The last gives power to the most occult mysteries and intelligences; the lowest, which acts through the moon, gives the prophetic powers that are found sometimes even in stocks and stones. The second of these furies proceeds from Dionysos, the third from Apollo, and the fourth from Venus; each is described from the writings of the ancients. Then are described rapture and ecstasy, which represent the power of the soul by a continued yearning heavenward from a pure body, to be carried out of its house in the flesh, to stand apart from it for a certain time, pervading, as a light pervades the air, all space, and with space comprehending all time also. Of prophetic dreams there are four kinds: those which occur in the morning between sleeping and waking, those which relate to another person, those which include in the dream its own interpretation, and, lastly, those which are repeated, as said Joseph, "for that the dream was doubled unto Pharaoh twice; it is because the thing is established by God, and God will shortly bring it to pass." But with prophetic dreams there is more or less of accidental and vain matter always mixed; neither is any dream prophetic except by the influence of the celestials, with whom alone is knowledge of the future; and he who would divine by dreams, must sleep on a clean bed in a pure chamber that has been

exorcised and sanctified, his body must be free from the vapours of gross food and from the distorting influence of sin. Retiring so to rest he must pray for the counsel he desires, and if his faith suffice he will obtain it. There is a prophetic power also in the casting of lots and other such observations, which the ancient fathers used, but never lightly or irreverently, since they could obtain an omen from on high, not from the dead matter used, but by the power of pure souls desiring knowledge through it.

Thus it appears that sacred oracles can be received only by those who have rightly disciplined their souls and bodies, and who make use of all sacred rites appointed for the strengthening of virtue. To show in what this discipline consists is the remaining purpose of the book. The spirit of it is that which we have seen animating the whole body of doctrine. Man is the temple of the Deity: he can attain to nothing worthy without striving step by step upon the way to purity¹, subduing all those powers of the flesh that war against the soul, engaged in constant contemplation of divine perfection, constant effort to approach it. To purify himself he must become in all things clean², most clean of all in heart and soul. He must not exceed the necessities of the body, he must be abstinent from all that overclouds the mind, temperate in all things, and dwell much apart from the animal crowd of men in contemplation of celestial things, of angels and intelligences, working out the will of God³. But the

¹ Cap. liii. p. cccxxii.

² Cap. liiii. p. cccxxiii.

³ Cap. lv. p. cccxxv.

chief part of inward purification is repentance¹, as even Seneca has said in *Phyeste*, that the man who repents is almost innocent. There is also abundant evidence in Scripture of the efficacy of almsgiving upon which the philosophers appear to have said little or nothing.

Upon the consideration of these means of inward purification follow a few chapters on extrinsic helps, as by the ministries of the church, baptism, exorcism, benediction; and it appears certain that material things can become active even on the soul, as with that fire in Sicily, whereof William of Paris witnesses that it doth cruelly hurt the souls, but does not affect the bodies of those who approach it.² By vows and signs of adoration³ the soul may be helped if it be striving inwardly, but only when it is striving Godward and towards things that are good. Prayer will not extort from God what is unjust. Cornelius describes next many recorded forms of oblation and sacrifice⁴. He speaks of them as typical, as helps to prayer, because they are a second prayer, the petition urged by the beseecher first out of his heart and then in the form of an emblem which encourages his heart, and adds expression to his words. All heathen offerings have been abolished, and their whole meaning is concentrated in the emblem of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. There remain but two true sacrifices—that of our Lord on the Cross for the remission of sin, and the sacrifice of a man's own heart, pure and contrite, to the God by whom that offering is not despised.

¹ Cap. lvi. p. cccxxvii.

² Cap. lvii. p. cccxxviii.

³ Cap. lviii. p. cccxxix.

⁴ Cap. lix. p. cccxxxi.

In the same spirit the youth treats of invocations and rites¹; describes the modes of invocation² and of consecration, with the reason of them³; describes how places are sacred when they are of divine choice and appointment, consecrated by divine acceptance of man's pious wish; and sacred mysteries are those things to which, as is the case with sacred names and characters, the divine power has communicated occult virtue. There are sacred mysteries connected also with particular places and particular times, as with the days called black days by the Romans⁴. The sixty-fourth chapter of the book, which is the last, contains many observations upon rites and forms, incense, and such matters, partly drawn from the books of Moses, partly from the classics, and contains many odd stories told upon the testimony of the ancients.

We know now the spirit in which all these things are set on record by the young philosopher. He concludes his chapter with an amplification of the warning, which might be the text of his three Books of Occult Science, "In all things have God before your eyes." He adds, however, formally, upon a last page, "The conclusion of the whole work⁵." It is to say that he has endeavoured so to disperse his intention through it as to make it clear to the wise, though it will remain a secret to the foolish. "For you only I have written, whose souls are uncorrupted and confirmed in a right way of life; in whom a chaste and modest mind, a faith unwavering, fears God and worships Him; whose hands are removed from all wickedness and

¹ Cap. lx. p. cccxxxiiii.² Cap. lxi. p. cccxxxv.³ Cap. lxii. p. cccxxxvi.⁴ Cap. lxiii. p. cccxxxviii.⁵ P. cccxli.

crime; who live with decency, sobriety, and modesty: for you only shall be able to find the doctrine set apart for you, and penetrate the Arcana hidden among many riddles." To the malevolent and foolish, he adds, it will be only a multiplication of confusion. "Let none be angry with me because I have concealed the truth of this science in a net of riddles, and dispersed it in sundry places, for it is not hidden from the wise, but from the depraved and wicked: and I have written it in language that will of necessity keep it a secret from the ignorant, but make it clearer to the cultivated intellect."

So the work ends.

CHAPTER XI.

TWO MONKS.

FROM the preceding sketch it has been intended that the reader should obtain, within a narrow space, nearly as true a knowledge of Cornelius Agrippa's Three Books of Occult Philosophy as would be got by reading them in detail. They alone constitute him a conjurer; upon them alone is based the popular impression fastened to his name—upon them, and upon calumnies invented by the priests. In the outline of the books here given absurdities have not been softened down, indeed they may have been put forward unduly; they mark, however, the ignorance, not of the man, but of the age in which he wrote, and of which he had compassed the false knowledge. All is put to a wise use; the science halts over the earth, but the philosophy flies heavenward. Of the three books, it may be said, generally, that the first is Platonic, the second Pythagorean, the third Cabalistical, but that the three philosophies are modified and fused into one system, under the influence of a devout

study of the Gospel. The opinions ascribed to Pythagoras were, of course, to be had only from Aristotle (who cites Pythagoras but once, and refers constantly to the Pythagoreans) and from the fragments of Philolaus, which Cornelius had probably not seen; but there were plenty of forged Pythagorean treatises, and there was much Pythagorean matter in the writings of those Alexandrian Neo-Platonics, who, as before said, were drawn upon by the founders of the Jewish Cabalism. In the writings, therefore, of the Neo-Platonics, and especially of Plotinus and Iamblichus, whom Cornelius Agrippa studied well, we find more than elsewhere of the groundwork of this treatise on Occult Philosophy. Even the aspiration Godward, by contempt of the flesh, to which Cornelius gives earnest Christian expression, was, in a heathen form, the doctrine of the Alexandrian philosophers. Plotinus would not have his picture taken to perpetuate the memory of his mere flesh, nor would he make known the time or place of such a mean event as his own birth into the world of matter. Cornelius did not adopt the doctrine in this temper; but it is, nevertheless, right to remember that it was the philosophy of Plato tempered in Egypt with some orientalism, that upon the revival of Greek studies awoke aspirations in the minds of scholars. This taught them to rise above the gross and sensual delusions of their time, and to compare the spiritual religion, which, the new Platonists said, had been in all ages the soul of true philosophy, with the degradation of all holiness by ignorant and worldly monks, or with the appeals of the

Church to base perceptions of the common people. So there was a real danger in Greek to men like Reuchlin and Agrippa; and in this sense the priests, who had an interest in the continued abasement of the human mind, found out instinctively, and rightly felt, that the Greek language was hostile to the Latin Church—that to learn Greek was to set out on the high road to heresy. In the Occult Philosophy, Cornelius Agrippa showed that he had not only taken this Greek road, but had arrived also at that point of opposition to corrupt things of the Church, whither it led infallibly the boldest and most honest minds. Therefore it was for all corrupt things of the Church to stain him and his book with their own foulness; branding the man's character with wild inventions, and holding the book up for execration, as the impious work of a practitioner of magic made over, soul and body, to the devil.

But the work is not yet published. Only the spirit of its teaching has been set forth by the young philosopher in a few lectures before the University of Dôle, on the Mirific Word of Reuchlin. They are enough to raise a monk to pitiless hostility against him; but of this hostility no sign is yet betrayed.

All prospers with Cornelius. Elected regent¹ by his University of Dôle—flattered and praised by learned men reverend, right reverend, and noble—heartily believed in by congenial friends—blessed with the complete sympathy of a young wife, good, clever, and beautiful—he has been

¹ *Defensio Propos. de Annæ Monog.* Op. Tom. ii. p. 596.

happily putting the last touches to his Books of Philosophy, and sent them off with a good heart to receive the criticism of a lettered friend.

Of his personal appearance at this time, or any time, there remains little description. His portrait shows that he had a thoughtful and large-featured German face, in which the one thing most observed seems to have been the placidity¹. He was not only wise, but gentle, even to the tender cherishing of dogs. His wife he honoured as became a man who was the author of an essay upon the Pre-eminence of Woman, and the position held by her in relation to him won for her the honour of his friends. Several scraps of Latin verse, indited in her praise by different acquaintances, are bound up with her husband's writings²; and, although not as poetical as they are mythological, they do unquestionably prove that Cornelius did well, when on his way to France from Italy—by way of which country, as before said, he came from Spain—he stopped long enough at Geneva to give his heart in keeping to Louisa Tyssie. Geneva lies close upon Burgundy, and while Agrippa was at Dôle, that town was at a distance from him very inconsiderable to a youth in love, with horses at command, and well inured to travel. He had not so far to ride as Juno, for example, of whom to this effect writes one of the young Frau von Nettesheim's approving friends:

¹ It is mentioned both by Schelhorn in the *Amœnitates Literariæ*, and by Paul Jovius in his *Elogiæ*.

² *Hilarii Bertulphi Ledii in Generosam Dominam Janam Loysiam Tytiam Gebennensem, H. C. A. conjugem*, appended to the collected works.

When Juno called in upon Venus to borrow
 Her girdle, containing all kindness and love,
 Wherewith she might hope to get rid of her sorrow
 By winning more tender attention from Jove,
 Sighed Venus, more willing to help than to grieve,—“Ah!
 The thing you desire from my keeping is gone;
 It belongs now by right to a dame of Geneva
 That's washed by the broad-flowing stream of the Rhone;
 Go to her, Jane Louisa, the notable wife
 Of Henry Agrippa, the peace of his life.”

In another strain another writes¹:

Grave of Agrippa's cares, his rest, his bliss,
 Jana Louisa, you his solace bright,
 Whom as a sister all the Graces kiss,
 And whom to crown the Muses all delight,
 Justly did Heaven give to your caress
 A wise, true man. Nobly you can unite
 A zealous love with sober faithfulness.
 Go on, and ever let him feel the might
 Of your great faith, to guide him in his day.
 Join kisses with him while ye see the light,
 And share his fame when both have passed away.

The villanous monk Catilinet is quietly compounding
 his thunder while we follow the manuscript of the Occult
 Philosophy to the hands of the friendly scholar whose
 opinion was asked upon it. That scholar was the Abbot
 John of Trittenheim, known to the learned as the Abbot
 Trithemius, many years of Spanheim, afterwards of the
 monastery of St. James, at Wurtzburg. There was scarcely
 a scholar, or a patron of scholars, living in his day whose
 life could be told without naming Trithemius. Scholars
 and mighty nobles went on pilgrimages, princes sent
 ambassadors to the poor monastery, which he made

¹ *Reverendi P. Magistri Aurelii ab Aquapendente, Augustiniani Epigramma ad eandem.*

famous by his love of books and the good use he made of their contents. Cornelius had journeyed, like others, to see Trithemius, had seen him, and talked to him about magic, which the abbot studied, and of the wonders of which he was perhaps even more credulous than his young visitor. Among many pious works, Trithemius published one or two touching on magical subjects, and he was the first who told the wondrous tale of Dr. Faustus, in whose conjurations he was a devout believer. With this good man Cornelius had discoursed, immediately after his return from Spain, about occult things, and the undue discredit cast upon a study of them. Now that he had endeavoured to remove some of that discredit by showing in a book how worthy they were of attention, his old talk with Trithemius suggested to him that he could not do better than submit his treatise to the abbot's criticism.

John of Trittenheim was a man forty-eight years old at that time, and the founder of his own intellectual fortunes. He was born at the place in the electorate of Treves, from which he took his name; his father was John Eidenberg, and his mother was Elizabeth Longwi. His father dying while he was still young, his mother, after seven years of widowhood, married again. From his stepfather the boy got no help at all, and at fifteen, with a great craving for knowledge, he was scarcely able to read. In spite of his father-in-law's menaces, he stole some knowledge from a neighbour, and at last ran away to feed upon the crumbs let fall at the great schools and

universities. He went to Treves and Heidelberg, and having picked up some little knowledge in those places and elsewhere, was travelling home on foot, twenty years old, when a snowstorm drove him to seek shelter in the Benedictine monastery of Spanheim. It was on the 25th of January, 1482. There was no great temptation to go on to his father-in-law's house which he could set against the offers of the monks, who were a small set of men ignorant and poor, made poorer by recent mismanagement of affairs, and willing to have the help of a bright youth in amending their condition. He remained with them. On the second day of the next month he formally became a novice; towards the end of November professed himself one of the body of the Spanheim Benedictines; and very soon afterwards was made their abbot. It was to the gates of this poor monastery that John of Tritenheim attracted scholars, nobles, messengers from princes, not only by the fame of his own learning, but also by the famous library, consisting of two thousand books—a rare possession—with which he enriched the place. How he contrived to make so ample a collection will be best seen from this fragment of one of the sermons preached by him to the monks in their own chapel¹: “There is no manual work which, in my opinion, more becomes a monk than copying books for devout reading and preparing the materials required by those who write. For it is allowable freely to interrupt with talk this sacred

¹ Trithemii *Exhortationes ad Monachos*. Omelia, vii. *De Labore Monachorum Manuali*. (Ed. Argent. 1516, fol. xvi. col. 2.

labour, and to take thought at once for the refreshment of the mind and of the body. We are urged also by necessity to betake ourselves diligently to the copying of books, if we desire to have at hand matter wherewith we may mutually and usefully occupy ourselves in spiritual study. For you see the whole library of this monastery, which once was notable and large, was so scattered by the clumsy monks who came before us, sold and alienated, that there were not more than fourteen volumes found in it by me. The industry, indeed, of the printer's art, lately invented in our days at Mayence, produces to light many volumes daily, but it is by no means possible for us, who have hitherto been weighed down by the greatest poverty, to buy them all. For which reason I admonish and exhort all of you who do not go very willingly to out-door labour, that you should work as industriously as you can in copying books to the honour of God: because as indolence is at war with the soul, so moderate labour is a conservator of spiritual life." And to complete the picture of the abbot and his men, this account of their work is added from another of his writings¹: "Let one correct what another has written; let another ornament with red what that person has been correcting; let this one put the stops, another one the plans and pictures; that one is to glue the sheets together, or to bind the volume between boards; you shape the boards, and he the leather; some one else shall prepare the plates to orna-

¹ Trithemius *De Laude Scriptorum Manualium*. (Quoted through Schelhorn's *Amœnitates Literariæ*, vol. vii. p. 285.

ment the binding; one can cut parchment, another clean it, another by ruling lines adapt it for the copyist. Another makes the ink; another takes charge of the pens."

The abbot's literary troop rebelled at last, in spite of all his exhortation. Trithemius being summoned by Philip, Count Palatine of the Rhine, to a conference at Heidelberg upon monastic business, the Spanheim monks revolted in his absence, made wild havoc in their famous library, and so behaved, that, after visiting Cologne and Spire in search of accurate intelligence and counsel, their abbot abandoned books and monastery to the rebels, and in October, 1506, received possession of the Abbey of St. James, at Wurtzburg, where he lived during the remaining ten years of his life. It was to Trithemius, then, after he had removed to Wurtzburg, that Cornelius sent, by special messenger, the manuscript of his *Occult Philosophy*, together with this letter¹:

"When I had some discourse with you lately, Reverend Father, in your monastery at Wurtzburg, we conferred much together about chemical matters, magic, cabalism, and other things, which at the present time lie hidden as secret sciences and arts. And, among the rest, it was a great question with us why magic itself—though formerly by the common consent of all ancient philosophers it was regarded as the first step upward, and was held always in the highest veneration by the wise men and the priests of old—should have become, from the beginning of the

¹ *H. C. Agrippa*. Ep. 23, Lib. i. p. 702. Prefixed also to all editions of the *De Occ. Phil.*

growth of the Catholic Church, hated and suspected by the holy Fathers, at length exploded by the theologians, condemned by the sacred canons, and at last proscribed by every sort of law." He records next, at some length, his own opinion, that sects of false philosophers, abusing the title of magicians and giving the name of magic to profane and evil deeds, had caused good men to turn with anger from words thus made infamous. Then he goes on to say: "The case being so, I wondered much, and, indeed, felt indignant, that up to this time no one had arisen to vindicate so sublime and sacred a study from the accusation of impiety, for as much as those whom I have seen of the more recent writers, Roger Bacon, Robert of York, Peter of Abano, Albertus Magnus, Arnold of Villeneuve, Anselm of Parma, Picatrix of Spain, Cecco, Asculo, Florentinus¹, and many other writers of obscurer name, when they have promised to treat of

¹ Robert of York, a Dominican, lived about 1350, and wrote *De Magia Cæremoniali*, on Alchemy, *De Mysteriis Secretorum*, and *De Mirabilibus Elementorum*. None of these works passed from MS. copies into print. Peter of Abano, or Apono, was born at that place, near Padua, in 1250. He was, at Padua, the first professor of medicine. Among his works, frequently printed, is a *Heptameron*, including *Elucidarium Necromanticum*, *Elementa Magica*, &c. George Anselm, of Parma, was, in the fifteenth century, a famous physician, mathematician, and astrologer. His Institutes of Astrology are among the MSS. in the Vatican. In the year 1256, Picatrix of Spain compiled, from two hundred and twenty-four old books, a Magical work, afterwards translated out of Arabic into Latin. It exists only in MS. Cecco d'Ascoli, a learned philosopher, was burnt for his Astrology as heretic at Florence in 1327. Nicolaus de Asculo, in the region of Ancona, flourished 1330, was a Dominican, and wrote, besides theology, comments on Aristotle, still in MS. Thaddæus Florentinus was accounted, in the thirteenth century, another Hippocrates among his patients at Bologna. He did not begin to study till the age of thirty.

Magic, have either supplied idle matter without any connecting system, or else have published superstitions not to be received by honest men. Thus my spirit was aroused within me, and through wonder and indignation I too conceived the desire to philosophise, thinking that I should produce a work not unworthy of praise—inasmuch as I have been from early years a curious and fearless explorer of wonderful effects and the full working of mysteries—if I could vindicate against the ill words of calumniators and restore that ancient Magic, studied by all the wise, purged and freed from the errors of impiety, and adorned with its own reasonable system. Although I have long pondered upon this, I never until now have ventured to descend into this battle-ground. But after we had exchanged speech at Wurtzburg on these matters, your rare experience and learning, and your ardent exhortation, gave me heart and courage. Therefore, having selected the opinions of philosophers of tried faith, and having purged of false opinions operations detailed in the dark and reprehensible books of those who have maligned the traditions of the Magi, dispelling the shadows, I have just finished composing three Books of Magic, in a compendium which I have called by a less offensive title, Books of Occult Philosophy. These I now submit to be examined by you as a censor who possess the fullest knowledge of those things, to be corrected and judged: that if anything has been written in them by me which may tend to dishonour nature, offend Heaven, or be hurtful to religion, you may condemn the

fault. But if the scandals of impiety have been purged out, and you hold any tradition of the truth to be preserved in these books, as in Magic itself, let nothing be kept hidden that can be made useful, while nothing is approved that can do harm. For so I hope that in due time these books, approved by your criticism, may be worthy to appear before the public under happy auspices, and not fear to endure the judgment of posterity. Farewell, and pardon me the boldness of this venture."

Trithemius kept the messenger till he had read the manuscript, and then returned it with this answer¹:

"Your work, most accomplished Agrippa, headed, *On the More Occult Philosophy*, which you offered to me for examination by the bearer of this, was received with more pleasure than mortal tongue can tell or pen express. I am led to the most admiration of the more than common erudition which enables you, while still a youth, penetrating such secret recesses of knowledge, hidden from many even of the wisest men, not only to bring light into them fairly and truly, but even with propriety and elegance. Wherefore I thank you in the first place for your kindness to me, and if I am ever able, I will undoubtedly repay such kindness according to my strength. Your work, which the wisest of men could not sufficiently commend, I approve; next, I ask, exhort, and beseech you, as urgently as I can, that you continue as you have begun, in upward striving, and do not allow the excellent strength of your intellect to become dull through want of

¹ Everywhere printed after the preceding.

use; but always spend your toil on better and better things, that you may demonstrate, by the divinest illustrations, the light of true wisdom, even to the ignorant. Nor let the consideration of any clouds, about which truth has been said, withdraw you from your purpose. The weary ox treads with a heavy foot, and in the opinion of the wise no man is truly learned who is pledged to the rudiments of one study alone. But you the Divinity has gifted with an intellect both large and lofty. Do not, therefore, imitate the cattle, but the birds: nor think that you are to delay over particulars, but confidently urge your mind up towards universal rules. For every man is thought learned according to the fewness of the things of which he is ignorant. But your intellect is fully apt for all, not reasonably to be engaged upon a few things, and mean ones, but upon many and high. This one thing only we warn you to abide by the counsel of, speak of things public to the public, but of things lofty and secret only to the loftiest and the most private of your friends. Hay to an ox and sugar to a parrot: rightly interpret this, lest you, as some others have been, be trampled down by oxen. Happy farewell, my friend; and if I can serve you in anything, command me, and understand that what you wish done is done. Moreover, that our friendship may acquire strength daily, I earnestly beg that you will write often, and send me now and then some of your lucubrations. Again farewell. From our monastery at Wurtzburg, April 8, 1510."

A kind letter in the high epistolary style then common; a wise letter, too, as the reader cannot but have felt. You have done worthily, it said; ever aspire, but know that there are many heights to scale, and upon this height you must needs tread very warily. As for your present intention you must give it up. Publish these Books of Occult Science, wise as they are, and there is no dolt who will not have you down under his feet.

Cornelius was under foot already when the warning reached him. Catilinet had made his rush. The Quadregesimal Discourses were delivered, and the youth was down. Trithemius was one monk, Catilinet was another. Monks like Catilinet were unluckily the rule, monks like Trithemius the exception. The good abbot, as we have seen, had been in a minority at Spanheim, all the monks under his rule had shaken themselves free of him, scattered his books, and lapsed into their natural stupidity. Trithemius was honoured of all learned men in Europe, and he was Agrippa's friend; Catilinet was one of those men whom John of Trittenheim figured as cattle, a Franciscan monk, the chief indeed of the Franciscan monks of Burgundy, and for that reason, perhaps also for some power of lung, was chosen to preach the Lent sermons before Margaret at Ghent, but who, by no power of brain, has left a mark, though but the merest scratch, upon the annals of his time; and he was Agrippa's enemy. Many an unknown name is treasured for something in ecclesiastical records and dictionaries, but the name of this Catilinet I can find nowhere except here, as that of

the first ox who trampled on Cornelius Agrippa. I call him ox according to the abbot's parable, not as a word of abuse, but as a representative of that which treads heavily over the earth in an appointed course, and is of the earth earthy. Catilinet may have been, and I will take for granted was, an honest man, who conscientiously believed that there was heresy and danger in the Greek and Hebrew studies through which young Cornelius Agrippa won so much applause at Dôle. He was the man who defends against every hint of progress all established rule and custom—he is the ox, in fact, who cannot mount into the air. Catilinet¹, at the beginning of Lent, in the year 1510, was delivering at Ghent, before the Princess Margaret, whose patronage Cornelius was seeking, certain orations called the Quadregesimal Discourses. He attacked with violence, and denounced before Margaret the lectures, impious in his eyes, that had been delivered by a forward youth in her Burgundian capital. He succeeded in exciting Margaret to wrath against the cabalist, who was supposed to have set Christianity aside, and sat at the feet of those by whom the Saviour was crucified. Precisely so did the monk Pfefferkorn, of Cologne, a year or two later, denounce Reuchlin. It was a cry of the time, which Catilinet is not to be considered morally to blame, but simply ignorant, in having loudly uttered.

Nearly together came the news of this blow struck at Ghent and the admonitory letter of Trithemius. What

¹ *Expostulatio contra Catilinet.*, Op. Tom. ii. p. 510, and *Defens. Prop. de Annæ Monog.*, p. 596, for what follows.

could be done? The Occult Philosophy, by which he hoped to win a recognised place among scholars, was to be put aside and shown only in secret to his nearest friends. The warning against publishing it was, seeing the issue of the far less questionable Dôle orations, clearly wise. The treatise upon the Pre-eminence of Woman, written for the eye of Margaret, must also be put aside. The hope of a scholar's life, with Margaret for friend, must also be put aside: and there remained to him only the barren honours he had won at Dôle.

I do not feel that here the difficulty was insuperable. There are men who, when an ox blocks up the path on which they travel, turn aside out of its way; and there are other men who turn the ox into the hedge and travel on. Catilinet might have been faced in Ghent itself, and beaten to one side by a conflicting energy. A more determined spirit than Cornelius possessed would not have given up what seemed to be the best hope of a life without a sturdy battle. But Cornelius was not determined. He was a brave man at arms, but as to his mind, sensitive, gentle, and averse from strife. We shall find him presently replying to the man who has disturbed painfully the course of his whole life, in a calm tone of purely Christian expostulation. Better would it have been for his fame in this world if there had really been sometimes, according to the fable of his enemies, a devil at his elbow.

Now, therefore, it is conceded by him that he can advance no further in the paths of pleasure. Farewell,

scholarship ! Farewell, philosophy ! Farewell, kind princess, for whose smiles he would have laboured worthily. There is a wife to support, a family position to maintain, and nothing left but the old way of life from which he had endeavoured to escape. He must resume his place among the young men of the court, and do such work as may be found for him by Maximilian.

CHAPTER XII.

CORNELIUS IN LONDON.

MAXIMILIAN had plenty of employment on his hands. The brave little republic of Venice, not to be crushed by the iniquitous league of Cambray, was fighting strenuously for its life against the banded forces of Pope, Emperor, and King. There were distrusts and jealousies among the allied plunderers, and there was, so far as Maximilian the Emperor was concerned, trouble and discomfort at home. His states at the diet of Worms declined to guarantee him his expenses, and were not to be brought into a love for the Italian war, though a bold orator had been obtained from Louis, who declaimed to them at length upon the infamies of Venice. He told them that the Venetians ridiculed the Germans in their theatres; charged a year's rent daily to a German for a house; governed their own citizens with cruelty, driving them, with the whips used on bullocks, to the galleys; that they were pirates, poisoners, and so forth¹. Nothing of all

¹ Hegewisch, *Geschichte der Regierung Kaiser Maximilians des Ersten*. Hamburg and Kiel, 1782.

this would induce Germany to back its Emperor with money. Maximilian denounced the meanness of the states in an Imperial Apology, but he continued poor. Very few lines will show sufficiently what his position was when young Cornelius resumed the palace livery.

At home, the Emperor's second wife, Bianca Maria, daughter of Galeazio Sforza, who was less gentle than fair, was wasting to the grave, within a year of death, caused, some say, by her husband's very manifest disrelish of her temper—others say, by her own too great relish for snails, which she consumed till she destroyed her powers of digestion. Abroad, the Emperor was in great trouble about the Pope, who had become a faithless member of the league, and, bent on having Italy for the Italians, was not merely seceding from the foreigners whose armies poured into Italian plains, but was becoming anxious to expel the French by actual hostilities, and to part Maximilian, if possible, from Louis. But whatever might be promised him from Rome or Venice, Maximilian felt that he could never receive from the hands of Italian statesmen trustworthy security for the accomplishment of his desire to hold Italian ground. His policy, then, was to form stricter alliance with King Louis XII., to help him to the utmost against Julius II., labouring in all this not merely to secure his own imperial share of the Italian spoil, according to the terms of the league of Cambray, namely, Verona, Roveredo, Padua, Vicenza, Trevigi, and the Friuli, but to accomplish a wild private scheme, which was no other than the transfer of his own dominion

from an empire which he meant to abdicate in favour of his grandson, to a papacy from which he meant that Julius should be ousted¹.

Now in the year 1510, when Cornelius Agrippa resumed service at court, Louis of France was entering into a formal alliance (that proved very short-lived) with Henry VIII., then new to his dignity as King of England. In this treaty the Emperor of Germany was included as a friend of each of the contracting powers. For the treaty's sake alone Maximilian would, no doubt, find it necessary to send representatives to London; they went ostensibly, perhaps, on the occasion of the treaty, but they had business of far more serious import entrusted to them. For in his defection from the league of Cambray, the Pope had carried with him Ferdinand of Aragon, Henry VIII.'s father-in-law. In the very last Italian campaign the Pope and King of Aragon had secretly encouraged the Venetians to besiege Verona, the town by which Maximilian set most store, and to maintain boldly a contest in which the Emperor, without money enough to pay his men, could obtain no solid advantage. On the 21st of February, 1510, Julius II. formally made peace with Venice, showed open hostility to France, and made some effort to induce Maximilian to follow his example. The Pope, old as he was and infirm, put armour on to take part bodily in the siege of Mirandola, and at the close of it he was carried through the breach in military

¹ Coxe's *House of Austria* and Hegewisch supply the foundation for the few historical reminders necessary to the text.

triumph. Maximilian and Louis were thus forced into a closer brotherhood of enmity against the Roman See. To secure at least the neutrality of England was important to them both. The young king of that country, about nineteen years of age, and fresh to the throne, as husband to Katherine of Aragon, might, if his father-in-law grew a little warm over the quarrel, be induced to take part with the Pope. To watch for any tendency of this sort, and to establish quietly, as opportunity might serve, distrust of the Pope and of his cause in Henry's mind, was doubtless the "most secret purpose¹," which Cornelius Agrippa speaks of in connexion with his London mission. As a young theologian not very friendly to the papacy, a courtier and a cavalier as well, Cornelius was added at once to the English embassy. Thus it was that in the late summer or autumn of the year 1510 he came to what he entitles "the renowned emporium of England²."

The London of that day was hardly larger than Cologne. Country roads branched from Charing-cross. Baynard's Castle had not long been rebuilt as a beautiful and commodious palace for the entertainment of great princes and favoured nobles by the king. There was but one bridge across the Thames. Fleet Ditch had just been scoured, and was navigable for large boats laden with fish and fuel up to Holborn Bridge. There was no pavement on the Holborn-street, which led by the Bishop

¹ Corn. Agrippæ *Defensio Prop. de Beatæ Annæ Monog.* Op. Tom. ii. p. 596.

² *Expost. contra Catilinet.* ad fin.

of Ely's palace and strawberry-beds, skirting the country, to the open Oxford-road, and so away, passing the hamlet of St. Giles. Chancery-lane, Fetter-lane, and Shoe-lane, were unpaved and in a scarcely passable condition. Leather-lane was such a back-lane to the fields as we see still in many market-towns. The city had its walls and gates, the cross in Westcheap was its newest ornament. Though London was more populous eastward than westward, in comparison with the metropolis of to-day, Stepney, nevertheless, was still a town by itself, remarkable for the pleasantness of its situation and the beauty of its scenery, and chosen, therefore, as a place of residence by many persons of distinction.

Cornelius Agrippa, when in London, lodged at Stepney as Dean Colet's guest¹—the wise and pure-hearted John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, who was at that time engaged over the foundation of St. Paul's School. Colet, beloved of Erasmus, and decried of all who held by the abuses of the Church, was very careful in the choice of guests and house-companions. "We are all such as our conversation is," he used to say, "and practise habitually what we often hear²." We know Cornelius the better

¹ "In Britanniam trajiciens apud Johan Coletum Catholicæ doctrinæ eruditissimum, integerrimæque vitæ virum, in divi Pauli epist. desudavi, et quæ nescivi illo docente multa didici, quamvis apud Britannos longe aliud, et occultissimum quoddam tunc agebam negotium." *Defens. Prop. de B. A. Monog.* Op. Tom. ii. p. 596.

² This is placed by Erasmus with great honour among his adages. For what is said in this chapter of Dean Colet, Erasmus, writing his friend's life in the Epistle to Iodocus Jonas, and elsewhere referring to him, is the chief authority. But all that was said by Erasmus was brought together

when we learn that, while engaged on his court errand, he was received into the household at Stepney by John Colet and his venerable mother, and that he employed his time, as we are both pleased and amused to learn, in studying, under the influence of his host's enthusiasm, the Epistles of St. Paul. Paul of all men, wrote Colet, seems to me a vast ocean of wisdom and piety¹. I laboured hard, writes Cornelius of the time when he was Colet's guest, at the Epistles of St. Paul.

The young Doctor Cornelius cares not to talk of the amusements of the court in which he was required to take some part. Henry VIII. was enjoying gala days, pleasing himself with masks and tourneys. In the dress of a yeoman of his guard he had been to the City on St. John's Eve, there to see the pompous watch of the City guard, a nocturnal procession like a lord mayor's show, which marched with nine hundred and forty blazing cressets through streets garnished with flowers, boughs, and lighted lamps. On the following St. Peter's night he took his queen in state to see the pomp repeated. He was masquing, too, now as a Turk, now as a Robin Hood's man. In October, 1510, he had a tournament in Greenwich Park, and a mock combat with battle-axes, in which he himself engaged with one Giot, a tall German. A week or two afterwards he went to Richmond, and proclaimed a

with whatever else could be discovered in the *Life of Dr. John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's*, by Samuel Knight, D.D., Prebendary of Ely, 8vo, Lond., 1724, to which book, therefore, it is sufficient to refer.

¹ In a letter to the Abbot of Winchcomb, printed by Dr. Knight in the Appendix to his *Life of Colet*.

tournament on the 8th of November, in which he, with Master Charles Brandon and Master Compton, was to hold the ground during two days against all comers, with spear at tilt on the first day, and at tourney with swords on the second. Of course, he was royally victorious, and Cornelius Agrippa was, no doubt, a witness of his prowess among the Almaines, or Germans from the court of Maximilian, whom we find to have been more particularly entertained on this occasion. "The second night," Holinshed tells us¹, "were divers strangers of Maximilian the emperor's court and ambassadors of Spain with the king at supper. When they had supped, the king willed them to go into the queen's chamber, who so did. In the mean time the king, with fifteen other, apparelled in Almaine jackets of crimson and purple satin, with long quartered sleeves and hosen of the same suit, their bonnets of white velvet, wrapped in flat gold of damask, with vizards and white plumes, came in with a mummary, and after a certain time that they had played with the queen and the strangers, they departed. Then suddenly entered six minstrels, richly apparelled, playing on their instruments; and then followed fourteen persons, gentlemen, all apparelled in yellow satin, cut like Almaines, bearing torches. After them came six disguised in white satin and green. . . . The first of these six was the king, the Earl of Essex, Charles Brandon, Sir Edward Howard, Sir Thos. Knevet, and Sir Henry Guilford. Then part of the gentlemen bearing torches departed and shortly returned,

¹ In the Chronicles under the year 1510.

after whom came in six ladies, apparelled in garments of crimson satin embroidered and traversed with cloth of gold, cut in pomegranates and yokes, stringed after the fashion of Spain. Then the six men danced with the six ladies; and after that they had danced a season, the ladies took off the men's visors, whereby they were known: whereof the queen and the strangers much praised the king, and ended the pastime."

Glad of its ending was, no doubt, Cornelius Agrippa, and most happy to return to a house where time was passed in wiser occupation. There was nothing in a royal mummary to be compared for beauty with the tall, well-shapen form and spiritual face of Agrippa's host, one of the handsomest as well as best men in the land. As for the dean's mother, Dame Christian, who lived with him, surely she was more royal than the king. "I knew in England the mother of John Colet," says her favourite, Erasmus¹, in whose visits at Stepney she took rare delight, "a matron of singular piety; she had by the same husband eleven sons and as many daughters, all of which hopeful brood was snatched away from her, except her eldest son; and she lost her husband, far advanced in years. She herself being come to her ninetieth year, looked so smooth and was so cheerful that you would think she had never shed a tear, nor brought a child into the world; and (if I mistake not) she survived her son, Dean Colet. Now that which supplied a woman with so much fortitude was not learning, but piety to God." She

¹ Ep. 16, Lib. xxii.; but the above is Dr. Knight's translation.

had lived with her husband, Sir Henry Colet, wealthy City knight and twice lord mayor, in a mansion called the Great Place, surrounded by a moat, nearly adjoining Stepney Church. Afterwards she lived with her son John in a smaller mansion within sight of the church, that to which Cornelius went. It was bequeathed to St. Paul's School as a country retreat for the masters during times of pestilence, and now exists, in a half remodelled state, as two ample houses, adorned with an effigy of the dean, at one corner of White Horse-street and Salmon-lane.

In this house host and guest studied the works of the Apostle of the Gentiles. For the last four years the dean had been vexed by complaints against his orthodoxy. The Bishop of London, according to a divine of the next generation¹, was wise, virtuous, and cunning; yet for all these three good qualities he would have made the old Dean Colet of Paul's a heretic for translating the Pater Noster into English, had not the dean been helped by the Archbishop of Canterbury. He was in trouble, and should have been burnt, said Latimer, if God had not turned the king's heart to the contrary.

Dean Colet was a heretic, as most of the better class of scholars in his day were heretics, not because he went beyond the pale of the Church, but because there was manifest in him the tendency of knowledge. After a seven years' training in his youth at Magdalene College, Oxford, during which period he studied logic and philosophy, and took degrees

¹ Tyndal. Works, fol. Lond., 1573, p. 318.

in arts, he went abroad for further information, and spent three or four years in France and Italy. At Oxford he had become familiar with Cicero, and had read, in Latin, Plato and Plotinus. Of Greek he knew nothing, because, even in England, the university cry was *Cave a Græcis, ne fias hæreticus*—Learn Greek and turn heretic. At Paris, Colet became acquainted with Budæus, and was for the first time introduced to Erasmus; in Italy he joined his countrymen, Linacre, Grocyn, Lilly, and Latimer, who were at work on the heretical tongue, and acquired such knowledge as to read the ancient fathers, Origen, Cyprian, Ambrose, and Jerome; also St. Augustine, of whom he had but a mean opinion. He looked into Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas, studied civil and canon law, and did not neglect what English poetry there was. He had early received rectories through family interest, and, while away from home, was made Prebendary of York and Canon of St. Martin's-le-Grand. On his return, after a short stay with his parents at Stepney, he went to Oxford, and there read, without stipend or reward, lectures on his favourite subject, the Epistles of St. Paul, to a great concourse. These lectures were continued during three successive years, in one of which Erasmus came to Oxford and renewed his friendship with John Colet. After receiving more preferment on account of his connexions, in 1504 Colet commenced D.D., and was made in the next year, without any application made by him or on his behalf, Dean of St. Paul's. He at once began to reform the cathedral discipline. For the Latin lectures read to

the clergy only, on scholastic theology, he substituted the new practice of giving to all comers divinity lectures on Sundays and festivals, preaching commonly himself—in Latin, indeed—but with a grace and earnestness that, from a man comely as he was, served as mute appeal even to the hearts of the most ignorant. For the piety and acuteness of these lectures, he was renowned as one of the best orators of his time. His beauty, his serenity, the veneration inspired by his every word and gesture, increased their effect¹. By such means inquiry into Holy Scripture was substituted at St. Paul's Cathedral for an idle school divinity. When Colet preached, he commonly was to be found expounding the Epistles of St. Paul, "which contain the fundamental doctrines of salvation, and with which, we are told, he was to that degree enamoured that he seemed to be wholly wrapped up in them." Colet expressed great contempt for religious houses and the lives commonly led by monks; he set forth the danger of an unmarried clergy, spoke angrily of immorality and covetousness in priests, spoke against auricular confession, warned against image worship, and called irreverent the thoughtless, hurried repetition of a stated quantity of psalm or prayer. He also collected many passages from the Fathers which displayed modern corruptions in the Church. He did not believe in purgatory. Such opinions, and his free way of expressing them, made the good dean obnoxious to the clergy. But

¹ Pauli Jovii. *Descriptio Britanniae, Scotiae, Hiberniae et Orcadum*, ed. Venet., 1548, p. 45. Erasmus says of his friend "Accesserat his fortunæ commodis corpus elegans ac procerum."

for the good sense of Archbishop Warham evil consequences might have followed. As it was, when Agrippa lodged with him, Colet was preparing to bestow his ample fortune upon the foundation of a grammar school—the first in which the dreaded Greek was systematically taught to English boys. He chose a friend who was a good Greek scholar, William Lilly, for the first head master, and MDX. was the date of foundation upon the inscription on the school wall facing the cathedral.

We see, then, sympathy enough between Cornelius and his host the dean. There was one aspiration common to them both. Colet, we are told by Erasmus, had naturally a spirit exceeding high and impatient of the least injury and affront. He was also, by the same bent of nature, too much addicted to love, and luxury, and sleep, and mightily disposed to an air of freedom and jocoseness; nor was he wholly free from a delight in money. In company or with ladies his joyous nature would break loose, therefore he preferred talking Latin with a friend, so that he might avoid idle discourse at table. He ate only one meal daily, and then but of one dish, taking a draught or two of beer, and refraining commonly from wine, for which he had, when it was very good, great relish. He had always guests at table, few and fit, and though his provision for them was frugal, yet was it in all its appointments very agreeable and neat. He did not sit long over meat. His custom was that, after the first grace, a boy with a good voice should read aloud a chapter out of an epistle of St. Paul, or from the Proverbs. Then he would

begin a pleasant conversation on some point in it, and if the talk grew dull would change the theme. There never was a man with a more flowing wit, and therefore he delighted in companionship with lively people, but he turned his light and cheerful stories always to a serious and philosophic use. With a congenial friend he gladly would prolong discourse until late in the evening. He loved neatness and cleanliness in books, furniture, entertainments, apparel, and goods, but he despised state, and, for himself, wore only black clothes, though others of the higher clergy walked in purple raiment. His upper garment was made of plain woollen, and in cold weather he had it lined with fur. His ecclesiastical income he spent on the wants of his family and hospitality; his private estate, which was large, he put only to charitable uses, finally devoting it, as before said, to the foundation of a school. This school he did not, in the narrow spirit of so many founders, open only to a certain section of the people, but to the whole country, and he took thought to provide in its first rules for the necessities of extension and improvements, and for whatever changes of plan might, by the progress of society, be made to appear proper to its future rulers. Colet was a great lover of little children, admiring the pretty innocence and simplicity in them, and he would often observe how they had been set before us by the Saviour for an example. Nevertheless, he shared the common notion of his time upon the propriety of not sparing the rod on schoolboys, and

even suffered boys in his school, who were new comers, to be flogged severely upon little provocation, for the mere purpose of laying in their minds the foundation of what was supposed to be a wholesome awe.

Such being Dean Colet's character, it will be seen that he was able very perfectly to sympathise with the high aspirations of Cornelius, and that he did what he could to direct and purify them in accordance with his own sense of all that was great and good, by setting the young man to work on the Epistles of St. Paul. In a contempt of all that was most clearly corrupt and unreasonable in Church discipline, and a resolve to exercise freely the right of independent study, whether at Greek or any other branch of knowledge that was scouted by the ignorant, the young German doctor could only have been strengthened by his English host. Let us not omit here to remark how insensibly, and as it were without volition of his own, the life of Agrippa has begun to run in a strong current against priestcraft. He has not merely roused against himself as a student the bad spirit of monkery as represented in the person of Catilinet, but no sooner has he been turned back by Catilinet from the career of his choice, and forced on a career of action, than he is put on the high road to excommunication by the Emperor, who happens to be struggling with the Pope. As one of the Pope's antagonists, he is despatched to England, and when there the friendship he wins is indeed that of one of the best men of his time, but one against

whom, nevertheless, suit had been opened by his bishop on account of heresy, and who had been running great risk of a martyrdom.

From Dean Colet's house Cornelius wrote a letter of Expostulation on the subject of his condemned Exposition of the Book on the Mirific Word, to John Catilinet, Doctor of Theology, Provincial of the Franciscan Brothers throughout Burgundy¹. It is full of character, and won for the writer, no doubt, Colet's respect, as it will that of any reader. Considering the provocation and the disappointment suffered, it is, though just a little caustic, marvellously gentle. Thus it runs:

"It is the part of a Christian to do deeds of charity, and to speak truth, which he who fails to do, wanders so far from Christ as to become altogether undeserving of the Christian name. I write this to you, good Father, moved by that very charity and truth (in which we ought all to be joined, as members of the same body, whose head is Christ), not out of any false opinion, envy, or hatred, which should be put far away from Christian men. I will say, however, with your leave, that you, by many falsehoods poured out before public assemblies, have not feared, indeed have striven your utmost, to excite envy and hatred against me upon a matter wherein I deserved no blame.

¹ First published appended to the first edition of Agrippa's "*De Nobilitate et Præcellentia Fæminei Sexus* (Mense Maio, 1532), as *Henrici Cornelii Agrippæ Expostulatio super Expositione sua in librum de Verbo Mirifico cum Joanne Catilineti fratrum Franciscanorum per Burgundiam provinciali ministro sacræ Theologiæ doctori.*" From this edition, fol. sig. D-D iiii., it is here translated.

I wonder, therefore, by what right, while I was far away there in Burgundy, an unknown wayfarer, always harmless towards all, seeking of no one more than honour for desert, you were moved to calumniate me, you who for your calling's sake should, as Paul teaches the Romans¹, hate evil and cleave to good, be kindly affectioned towards others, blessing and cursing not, overcome evil with good, and as much as lieth in you live peaceably with all men. Truly you have not done what is worthy of your calling, or of a Christian teacher, who should exhort the people in the name of Christ to those things that are Christ's, to the works of the spirit—charity and peace, and the other things which Paul recounts to the Galatians². For he who persuades to hatred, wrath, strife, rivalry, enmity, does not persuade to things of the spirit but things of the flesh, than which nothing should be more strange to the Christian, and nothing more incongruous than for a Christian doctor to teach and incite to them. For Christ, the author of our religion, and the apostles, and the whole sacred writings, as you must know better than I, call us to peace and quietness. Therefore John the Evangelist³ reports Christ to have said to his disciples, Peace I give unto you, my peace I leave with you. And Paul says to the Hebrews⁴, Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord. Not only to exhort men to this peace, but even to entreat

¹ Romans, ch. 12. I cite the texts as they are cited by Agrippa in his margin.

² Galatians, ch. 5.

³ John, ch. 4.

⁴ Hebrews, ch. 12.

them, ought to be your duty and also mine. Does not the apostle say to the Ephesians¹, Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth; and a little after, Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil speaking be put away from you? And in his epistle to the Corinthians², he so detests a railer, that he judges it improper to sit at meat with him. In the same epistle, not long afterwards³, he puts revilers among those who shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven. And he teaches the same to the Colossians, saying, Put away anger, wrath, malice, blasphemy, filthy communication out of your mouth. Peter also⁴ teaches, that he who would love life and see good days, let him restrain his tongue from evil. And James⁵ says, Speak not evil one of another, brethren. Thus we are taught everywhere by the apostles to abstain from maledictions and offences, which are seeds of ill-will and discord of such kind as you have very recently been scattering against me before a people and a prince, when, a little before this last past festival of Easter, in Ghent, of Flanders, before our most illustrious princess and all the nobles of the court, called to deliver gravely and wisely Quadragesimal discourses, you broke out, forgetful of Christian modesty, and in full assembly interrupting the Gospel of Christ, into open abuse and false calumny of me, until you led many to hate me and wish me ill, through false opinion. It is thus that even some who were before friends of my name, now have their minds averted

¹ Ephesians, ch. 4. ² I. Corinthians, ch. 5. ³ I. Corinthians, ch. 6.

⁴ I. Peter, ch. 3.

⁵ James, ch. 4.

from me, so taught by your most false fancies and truculent lies, uttered in those much-talked-of assemblies, in the which you employed against me maledictions and opprobrious words of shame. For among other things you called me before that numerous audience once and again a Judaising heretic, who introduced into Christian schools the most wicked, damnable, and prohibited art of the Cabala, who, in contempt of the holy fathers and the doctors of the Church preferred the rabbis of the Jews, and twisted sacred letters to the arts of heresy and of the Talmud. But I am a Christian; neither death nor life shall separate me from the faith of Christ, and I prefer to all others Christian teachers, although I do not despise the rabbis of the Jews, and if, as it may be, I shall prove to have erred, yet I desire not to be a heretic, nor do I intend to Judaize, and it is so far from me to teach arts damnable and prohibited, that I would not so much as learn them. The sacred scriptures I nowhere distort, but according to the divers expositions of divers doctors, take them in divers ways for witness. I have not taught heretical arts and errors of the Jews, but I have expounded, by long toil and vigils, the Christian and Catholic book entitled, *On the Mirific Word*, of the Christian Doctor John Reuchlin of Pfortzheim, not secretly in closets, but in the public schools, before a public audience, in public prelections which I held gratuitously in honour of the most illustrious Princess Margaret, and of all that was studious in Dôle; nor were there wanting in my audiences men who were most grave and learned, as well

the parliament of Dôle, the venerable fathers of the senatorial rank, as also the masters in that University, the most learned doctors, and the ordinary readers, among whom the reverend Vice-Chancellor Verner, conservator of the church at Dôle, dean, doctor in each faculty, did not omit attendance at a single lecture. But you to whom I was utterly unknown, who were never present at one lecture, and never heard me elsewhere speaking privately about these things—who never, so far as I know, have seen me—yet have dared to utter against me an unjust opinion, that had better been omitted, and might have been, and ought to have been, not only because it is most false, but also because it is not fit that a religious man should disseminate among most serious and sacred Christian congregations such calumnies and contumelies, and they altogether misbecome the divine office of the preacher. For to disperse contempt, cursing and hatred is not the work of sincerity and speaking in the place of Christ, but in a manner (I employ the words of Paul¹) to handle the word of God deceitfully, which that great Apostle, set apart for the Gentiles, says that he had never done, and which certainly ought never to be done by any one who seeks to be a Christian teacher. You nevertheless have done this without cause and without fault on my part, you have contrived evil against me, robbed me of my good reputation, blotted my good name with the impurity of your hypocrisy, and out of the rancour of your mind have borne false witness against me. For Christ says, in Mat-

¹ II. Corinthians, ch. 4.

thew¹: Whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council: but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire. But you have marked me not with an uncertain reproach, or the name of folly, but, suspicious beyond measure, on account of your ignorance of the word Cabalism, and want of information about Hebrew dogmata, have called me heretic and Judaiser, and have moreover adjudged me to the fire. But I rejoice that I bear this burden for the sake of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and am esteemed as a sheep to the slaughter, or held worthy to suffer rebuke for that mirific word, the name, I say, of Jesus. By that pentagram in Matthew², happiness is promised to those of whom all manner of evil is said falsely, and who are persecuted for His name's sake. And Peter calls those happy who are reproached for the name of Christ.

“What part with the Jews have I who confess Christ Jesus the son of God³, and most devoutly worship Him? What part with heretics have I who observe with my best strength and teach the unity of the Church and its most salutary precepts, and the rites of sacred councils and canons by which faith is assured and cleansed from heretical iniquity? Those by whom I was heard can know—those, I say, most upright and learned men can judge and bear witness if ever anything was said by me offensive to the Christian faith and Church, unless perchance you mean to say that they shared with me my Judaising and my heresy. For it would have been neither decorous nor

¹ Matthew, ch. 5.

² Matthew, ch. 3.

³ I. Peter, ch. 4.

Christian in them, hearing publicly, to have tolerated by silence, to have consented with by not contradicting, and, what is more, to have approved by rewarding, what it was base, Judaical, and heretical in me to have read; for this reading was the reason of their receiving me into the college, and giving me an ordinary lectureship, the position of regent, and a salary. This evil speaking is not then against me only, but against the whole senate of the parliament, and against the whole University of Dôle. See into what pit you have cast yourself, who while you wished to cut me up with calumny have cheated with false stories a princess, her nobles, and all her court—have exposed to ridicule a senate and an university—have profaned also the word of God. Was this preaching the gospel of Christ before so illustrious a princess and court? Was this the office of a pious and religious brother? Is it thus a brother is corrected? Grant now that I, still a youth, not yet twenty-three years of age, had brought forward in my lectures some matter imprudently, and was to be reprehended for it (though James says¹, that if any man offend not in word, the same is a perfect man), yet this ought to have been done far otherwise, and in a more pious and Christian way than you adopted; for while you lived in the town of Gray, and journeyed frequently to Dôle, if I seemed to you to have spoken ill, or to have interpreted childishly, why did you not come to me, why did you not rebuke me, why did you not reason with me of my error? For heresy, for Judaism, you did

¹ James, ch. 3.

not check me to my face, but you wished at Ghent, in Flanders, to deliver me over, lecturing at Dôle, in Burgundy, two hundred miles away, to the ill-will of all, before the princess and her court, that by so exciting against me the hate of the princess and her courtiers you might indirectly (as it is said) cause my expulsion from the whole of Burgundy. Who does not see here a treachery laid open, calumny manifest, a spite detected? Had I sinned, it would have become you to rebuke me in another manner, and as Paul instructs in the Epistle to the Galatians¹, with these words : Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness. And he says also to the Thessalonians², Count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother. This fraternal and evangelical manner of admonition would have become you, a religious man bearing the name of Brother, as having professed the rule of the Franciscan brethren, and it would have been of much advantage to me, while it would have preserved for me the grace and favour of the princess and of others. Spare me then, henceforward, I entreat; let there be an end of reproaches and detraction; let there be an end of the discourses that provoke to hate and cripple charity; exhort to mutual benevolence and concord those whom you have made unfriendly to me; restore to me the wholeness of my reputation; restore to me my good and innocent name; restore publicly what you have publicly destroyed; restore to me those things which you have

¹ Galatians, ch. 6.

² Thessalonians, ch. 3.

snatched away by cruel fraud and wicked injustice. Go not before you are reconciled with me, your brother in Jesus Christ, with a stubborn heart resisting the divine spirit, to celebrate the divine mysteries of the mass, and eat the body of Christ to your own damnation. By that holy sacrament I conjure you to restore, for we are both Christians and members of Christ, as Paul says to the Romans, one body in Christ; to separate us and to make dissension what is it but to divide Christ's body, and in this body you are a noble and a chief member, who are doctor of theology, and have made profession of the rule of St. Francis. I also work in the same body, and though I am but a mean member, yet I am a Christian, and learn daily with pleasure from great masters, of whom you are one, the things that belong to our religion, wherein undoubtedly I delight much; let us, therefore, love one another. In this, as the apostle says¹, is the fulfilling of the law; nothing is more excellent than truth and charity. For the apostle writes to the Galatians², If ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another.

“These few words I write to you, good father, not moved by hatred, ill-will, or anger, but conscious of my own innocence, in a good and pious temper, studious of love; and the charity that I am asking you to show, the same I offer; which to refuse—or to spurn this that I have written—can neither be a part of your profession or your dignity; for he who refuses charity refuses God.

¹ Romans, ch. 13.

² Galatians, ch. 5.

For God, the evangelist witnesses¹, is love. But if for talmudical and cabalistical studies which you distrust, or for any other things which may have been erroneously reported to you by small, unskilful persons, or by persons little friendly to me, you have conceived any suspicion of me, I will both clear and justify myself to you most amply. Farewell. From London, the famous emporium of England. In the year 1510."

Excellent preaching to a rock. A letter running over with the recent study of St. Paul, and in which there is the Christian spirit scarcely less to be admired for the drop or two of human bitterness infused into it. Still there is the generous aspiration, the fond yearning upward of a contemplative German youth, who knows that there is vigour in his striving. With the vigour, weakness. Every one must feel that with such letters as this which we have just read it is vain for any man to hope to grapple with the Catilines of the world. Agrippa began life upon enchanted ground, the disenchantment is at hand. Against established form and rule his aspirations, noble as they are and true in essence, certain as it is that they and many others like them helped society to better days, seem to be powerless. Everywhere he finds men treating accepted opinions as if they were the height and depth of knowledge, using them in a thousand forms as arguments against every far-reaching speculation. The day will come when we shall find him, stung to the quick, hurriedly and angrily turning the tables upon the entire con-

¹ I. John, ch. 4.

ference of near-sighted pundits, and hunting them all down with their own cry of Vanity, in the last years of his vexation. The days of a simple aspiration are already numbered, and the days of provocation are begun.

Having finished his appointed work in England, Agrippa returned to Germany, and—probably entitled to a month or two of holiday—joined his domestic circle in Cologne. Maximilian would soon find for him fresh employment, since the Emperor was busy, and had need of all heads and all hands that could be made available. Cologne was to the young Agrippa but a place of rest for a few months, where he could gossip at ease with his wife, his father, and his mother. His parents, having given him his taste for astronomy, could sympathise with at least some part of his studies¹. He was happy as a son and as a husband, and found rest at home.

But inasmuch as an entire idleness is a great spoiler of rest, Cornelius undertook also to amuse his more learned fellow-townsmen by delivering the lectures called Quodlibetal (or What-you-Will), on questions of Divinity². I do not know anything more than can be guessed about these Quodlibetal divinity lectures at the Cologne University. It is reasonable, however, to suppose that they were like the Quodlibet books—miscellanies

¹ *De Incertitudine et Vanitate Scientiarum*, cap. xxx. *De Astronomia* (ed. Septemb. 1532, p. 79): "Ego quoque hanc artem a parentibus puer imbibi."

² *Ex Britannia autem recedens, apud Colonienses meos coram universo studio, totoque Theologico cœtu, Theologica placita (quæ vos vocabulo non admodum Latino Quodlibeta dicitis) haud non Theologice declamavi.* *Def. Prop. de Monog. B. Annæ.* Op. Tom. ii. p. 597.

meant to show, by the variety of topics treated and the random way of treatment, a great range of agreeable or useful reading. Whatever they may have been, the Doctor of Dôle delivered the Quodlibetal lectures while upon this visit to his family, and he must have heard much talk, too, upon interesting matters, for the pronunciation against Reuchlin, on the part of the Cologne theologians, was just then (1511) growing to a head, and rabbinical books were the main topic of discussion in the University. Thus the case stood. One Pfefferkorn, a Cologne Jew, turned orthodox priest, and bitter, as most converts are, against the brotherhood he had deserted, had, in the year 1507, exhorted Jews to become Christians in a book, published at Cologne, called a *Speculum*. In 1509 another Jew, turned orthodox priest, Victor von Carben, published, with the same object, also at Cologne, a golden work, an *Opus Aureum*. In the same year he held public disputations with the Jews (of course discomfiting them) in the house of Hermann Hass of Cologne, at Poppelsdorf. Pfefferkorn and his ally were for the destruction of all Jewish literature as so much blasphemy, and they attacked Reuchlin, of course, as the chief upholder of the learning they contemned. Pfefferkorn and Reuchlin became chiefs in a great tilt before the eyes of Europe. The matter in dispute was put thus at the time in the form of what was called a double Crinomenon :

I. Whether all Hebrew books, except the Bible, are to be abolished, burnt?

Reuchlin denies. Pfefferkorn affirms.

II. Whether the Cabala propounded by Reuchlin be contrary to the word of God?

Pfefferkorn affirms. Reuchlin denies¹.

In 1509 an order was extracted from Maximilian, then in camp at Padua, to John Pfefferkorn of Cologne, commanding him to search out Jewish books and extirpate them. In 1510 a like order was sent to Uriel, Archbishop of Mayence, who forwarded to Pfefferkorn, from Aschaffenburg, a list of the books he had seized, and also, sensible man, wrote to ask Reuchlin which he might properly destroy after he had seized them. A month or two afterwards instructions were obtained from Maximilian to Jacob Hochstraten, inquisitor of Cologne, Victor von Carben, priest, and John Reuchlin, doctor of laws, informing them of the powers conferred on Uriel, Archbishop of Mayence², and ordering them all to furnish him with counsel. In 1509 Pfefferkorn had attacked Reuchlin as a Cabalist and promoter of blasphemy in his *Handspiegel*, to whom, on the 6th of October, Reuchlin replied by the publication of his *Augenspiegel*. About this famous book, which they eventually condemned and burnt, and about Reuchlin's letters, on the same topic, to Conrad Koellin, then just published; the theologians of his native town were mainly

¹ This and the other notes on the controversy as it stood at this time in Cologne I take from the *Prodromus Historiæ Universitatis Coloniensis, quo exhibetur Synopsis actorum et scriptorum a Facultate Theologica pro Eccl. Cath. et Republ.* of Joseph Harzheim (4to, Cologne, 1759).

² This Uriel is said afterwards to have died of regret, because when he once by chance caught the cellarer at Aschaffenburg stealing his wine, he gave him a blow on the head with the cooper's adze that killed him.

occupied when young Agrippa, fresh from the stripes of Catilinet, spent his holiday among them. There was no escaping from the quarrel. If the young doctor turned from priests to citizens he found among them other matter for anxiety. The discontent of the townspeople with their chief men was ripening towards rebellion, and only two years afterwards the heads of senators were rolling in the Grass-market¹.

There was no rest for Cornelius—he is now aged twenty-five—except in his own quiet communion with wife and parents; and from that he was soon taken by the summons to lay by his doctor's cap and, taking up his sword, join instantly the army of the Emperor in Italy.

¹ *Mutius de Germanorum Prima Origine ad mensem Augustum anni 1530. Lib. xxx. p. 356.*

CHAPTER XIII.

SERVICE IN THE FIELD—WITH THE COUNCIL AT PISA.

SHINING in mail, Cornelius Agrippa is at Trent in the spring or early summer of the year 1511, preparing to escort some thousand of gold pieces to the camp of Maximilian at Verona¹. Doctor of divinity, he has resumed field service ; and certainly a young doctor in arms is not to be marvelled at in 1511, when the year preceding saw an aged pope with harness on his back. The tastes of Cornelius are not military. His friend at Trent is George Neideck, the bishop, and from Trent he writes to his early friend Landulph in the old patronising tone. Landulph has by this time acquired a wife, to whom he refers by the—perhaps pet—name of Penthesilea ; also a little boy, Camille, and a girl-baby, Prudence². Landulph, friend of Agrippa's youth, must really be helped, since he is still waiting for a favourable opening in life, living, apparently in no very satisfactory manner, on his private means. The Eagles have crossed

¹ Ep. 25, Lib. i. p. 705.]

² Ep. 34, Lib. i. p. 709.

the Alps. Agrippa joins them, and Landulph must join them too. The ingenious soldier-scholar has again a scheme by which he and his friend are both to compass glory, praise, and profit. If Landulph, hastening by sail and oar, will only meet Cornelius at the lodging of the Bishop of Trent, in Verona, he will know the plan¹. What is the mystery? No more than that the learned captain sees how he shall compass for himself and for his friend a couple of Italian professorships².

With a scheme, then, like this in his head, Cornelius accompanied the chest of gold to Maximilian's Italian head-quarters at Verona. Verona was one of the towns promised him by the league of Cambray, and the one upon the possession of which he laid most stress in all public or underhand negotiations. The gold crowns were, I suspect, French coin. On the 17th of November in the preceding year, the exigencies of their relative positions had caused Maximilian and Louis to execute, at Blois, a treaty of strict mutual assistance. It was agreed then that Maximilian should receive from France a hundred thousand ducats in the spring for military use in Italy, and was to cross the Alps in person with three thousand riders and ten thousand foot, which were to join twelve hundred lances and eight thousand foot supplied by Louis. Maximilian, however, was a very much embarrassed prince. He could not raise the necessary men,

¹ Ep. 25, Lib. i.

² Ep. 30, Lib. i. p. 707. It is distinctly implied in the second sentence, which should be compared with language used in the preceding letters.

and did not cross the Alps himself, but sent the money to Verona, and despatched the Duke of Brunswick, late in spring, with a small corps to overrun the Friuli. Wretchedly supported by the Emperor, the little army at Verona—which sometimes had to exist a whole week without bread or wine—must have delighted in the rumble of the wheels of the money-cart. It had—and Cornelius, who joined it, had—nothing to do with the Duke of Brunswick, who re-crossed the Alps again at the approach of winter, and left to these permanent troops, co-operating with the French, the burden of incessant toil. Famine would now and then breed plagues among them, which then spread beyond the German camp among the Frenchmen. The cruel incidents of war were perpetually present to men holding what was scarcely to be called their own on hostile ground, and at all seasons harassed by a busy enemy. When history may tell us only now and then of an important battle during any period of this long and murderous Italian struggle, which began with nothing higher than a royal lust of plunder, the contemporary chronicles are full of petty details frightful to contemplate¹. Because Cornelius was contemplative, he was quite unfit to fight in such a cause at such a time. He owed service to Cæsar, and he paid it; required to fight, he showed that he possessed the physical courage in which few men who are young and noble ever

¹ Of the same period Anquetil writes, “Pendant ces arrangements la guerre se faisait à outrance en Italie par petites actions, souvent plus meurtrières que les grandes batailles.” A few points in this part of the narrative rest upon the *Chronique de Bayart par le Loyal Serviteur*, ch. xlvi.-xlix.

have been found deficient. He won in this year, ¹⁵¹¹1811, or the year following—most likely the year following—a knighthood in the field. Nevertheless, he felt that he was not in his own true position¹. The salary paid to him (or owing to him) for seven years from the Imperial government was that of a soldier. “I was for several years,” he afterwards wrote, “by the Emperor’s command, and by my calling, a soldier. I followed the camp of the Emperor and the King” (of France): “in many conflicts gave no sluggish help: before my face went death, and I followed, the minister of death, my right hand soaked in blood, my left dividing spoil: my belly was filled with the prey, and the way of my feet was over corpses of the slain: so I was made forgetful of my inmost honour, and wrapped round fifteenfold in Tartarean shade².” So wrote the man of his Italian war service, who rode out to it dreaming of glory in the shape of a professor’s chair at Pavia, and who, no doubt, thanked heartily the Cardinal of Santa Croce, when, towards the end of the first summer’s campaign in arms, he invited the young doctor Cornelius Agrippa to a campaign, which proved but a very brief one, of a more congenial sort, as member of the Council then about to meet at Pisa³. The acceptance of this invitation was the climax of Agrippa’s opposition to the Pope.

¹ See next chapter.

² Ep. 19, Lib. ii. p. 736.

³ *Def. Prop. de B. Ann. Monog.* Op. Tom. ii. p. 596. “Exinde a Maximiliano Cæsare contra Venetos destinatus, in ipsis castris, hostiles inter turbas, plebemque cruentam, a sacris lectionibus non destiti, donec per Reverendissimum Cardinalem Sanctæ Crucis, in Pisanum Concilium receptus, nactusque si concilium illud prosperasset, egregiam illustrandorum studiorum meorum occasionem.”

The Council of Pisa was begotten at Tours of an ecclesiastical assembly summoned by King Louis XII. and attended by the Bishop of Gurk on the part of Maximilian, to consider whether it was lawful in an Emperor and King to resist Papal aggression. An affirmative answer led to a revival in France of the pragmatic sanction of Charles VII., diminishing Church patronage, and induced a request on the part of the assembly that a general Council might be summoned to meet at Pisa for the ostensible purpose of reforming ecclesiastical abuses. Maximilian seconded warmly these proceedings, proposed for Germany a similar pragmatic sanction, and in a manifesto from his own hand said, "As there is evident necessity for the establishment of due order and decency both in the ecclesiastical and temporal state, I have resolved to call a general council, without which nothing permanent can be effected." A general council of German bishops met, therefore, at Augsburg, but it refused in any way to co-operate for the production of divisions in the Church. It was but by a certain number of Italian and French ecclesiastics, backed with the authority of Maximilian and Louis, that the Council of Pisa was appointed "to reform the churches in their head and in their limbs, also to punish the openly guilty who had left no hope of amendment and had long given great annoyance to the Catholic Church." The formal summons of the Council was signed by nine cardinals, of whom Bernardine Carvajal, the Cardinal of Santa Croce, was the first. They grounded their right to issue such a summons partly on

their rank as head, limbs, and defenders of the Church, partly on the necessity of such assemblies being held from time to time and on the absence of all hope of right ecclesiastical assistance from the Pope. They chose for the place of meeting, Pisa, because it was a neutral spot, against which, as a locality, the Pope could not justly complain, and before their appointed council they required Pope Julius himself to appear by the first day of September; but as nobody liked to serve the summons on his Holiness, copies of it were affixed to the church doors in Rimini and other great Italian towns.

To this schismatic council Julius appointed an opponent, in a council summoned by himself to meet at Rome in the church of the Lateran. Of the five Italian cardinals who had publicly insulted him he named three as the most obdurate, the Cardinal of Santa Croce, spiritual head of the opposing movement, being of course one, and summoned them on pain of being stripped of all ecclesiastical preferment. The other two he simply warned and summoned to the council in the Lateran.

Thus we see that Cornelius, in accepting the post of Theologist to the Council of Pisa, was again fingering the pitch of heresy with orthodox intentions. Bernardine Carvajal, his patron, chose him not only because he was an able, bold, young doctor, known to many of the learned, though he had not yet published any writings, as a person of great power and promise, but no doubt, also, because he was a German. Not one German bishop would consent to go to Pisa; it was well as far as possible

to cover this deficiency, and in Cornelius he found a doctor who would represent the German party.

Carvajal was a Spanish priest, and very active. His brother had been ambassador, in Portugal, of Ferdinand the Catholic. He had himself studied for the Church, partly in Spain, partly in Italy, and being at the Papal court, in Italy he had been made nuncio to Spain by Innocent VIII. Ferdinand and Isabella then sent him as ambassador to Rome. In 1493, Alexander VI. made him Cardinal di Santa Croce, he being then Bishop of Carthage. He had before held the sees of Astorgas and Badajoz, afterwards he held those of Siguenzia and Placentia. Julius II. sent him to Germany as legate on Italian business, and being at the court of Maximilian, —where he perhaps saw Agrippa, then being despatched to England,—Carvajal was led to forsake the Pope, and to take the active part in subsequent affairs which placed him at the head of the Church party, summoning its chiefs to Pisa. He then held the see of Sabina, one of the chief Italian bishoprics, having a cardinal's hat connected with its mitre, and he was by this office the third in rank of the Pope's six assistant bishops.

Consenting, then, to the offers of this chief, Cornelius repaired to Pisa towards the close of summer, and in so doing braved the terror of the Pope's excommunication. For on the twenty-sixth of July, 1511, Pope Julius had summoned to submission the three cardinals, Carvajal, Cardinal of Santa Croce, William of Narbonne, and Francis Cusentinus, their adherents, entertainers, and all

helpers whatsoever, on pain of anathema, as guilty of heresy, schism, and *lèse majesté*. Nevertheless the Council was formed, and Cornelius Agrippa joined it.

Little was done. On the first of September the Council opened, but was, as a Church assembly, overmatched completely by the Papal power. The councillors were mobbed by the rabble of the town, and, after meeting twice in conclave, found it necessary to adjourn to Milan, every man getting to Milan as he could, across a hostile province. They made some faint attempts to resume sittings in Milan, and did in the following year—but with that we have nothing here to do—settle for a while in France. Cornelius seems to have earned some credit by displaying his ability of many kinds at Pisa. He taught Plato in the University. He delivered also a public Oration introductory to lectures upon Plato's Banquet; the topic of the Oration being Love, divine and human. His office, which is said to have been that of Theologian to the Council¹, ceased when Pisa was abandoned. On the twenty-fourth of October, Carvajal was deprived of his cardinalate and his see². He was not fully reinstated in his offices until the accession of the next Pope, Leo X., under whose rule he prospered during the remainder of his days. Cornelius returned to military work from his brief theological excursion, with the formal excommunication of the Pope declared against himself and his discomfited associates.

¹ In *Bayle's Dict.*; but it is a guess of Bayle's.

² *Annales Eccles. Od. Raynaldi*. Tom. xi. p. 572, et seq.

Nevertheless he is not much distressed. We find him not forsaken by his kind, for we next hear of him flattered by a courtly friend, who finding from the barber that he is still in Gravellona, lays at his feet, with a magnificent humility, two bundles of home-grown asparagus¹. We also read a letter of thanks and encouragement to an ingenious poet, who has forwarded to him for perusal some extremely stinging satires on his Holiness².

¹ Ep. 26 and 27, Lib. i.

² Ep. 28, Lib. i.

CHAPTER XIV.

DOCTOR AND KNIGHT-AT-ARMS.

THE war in Italy continued. Bologna had been taken for the French. Towards Christmas, 1511, a torrent of Swiss, carrying the great standard inscribed "Defenders of the Church, and subduers of Princes," had been poured by the Pope into the Milanese territory, had swept the French and German troops before them, and had marched upon the capital, from which they were diverted by the wit rather than the arms of the new governor of Milan, the gallant young Gaston de Foix, nephew to Louis. The Pope had been industrious. Recovering from a most dangerous illness, which prostrated him when his opponents were first opening their Pisan Council, he obtained the help not only of Ferdinand of Aragon, but also of the son-in-law of Ferdinand, Henry VIII. of England. What Maximilian had feared then came to pass. With these princes were joined the Venetians and some other Italian leaders, anxious to expel the French. Spanish troops were approaching on the side of Naples. Henry VIII., flattered by

the title of Defender of the Faith, was preparing to make a serious diversion by invading France. Maximilian paused; and, while he paused, the Pope plied him with promises. The Emperor became cold in the quarrel of the French. Nevertheless there were still his German bands in Italy, and with them there was Cornelius Agrippa. With Jacob von Empser for their leader, they were at the command of the chivalrous young general Gaston de Foix, who, hurrying to Bologna, took there the Pope's forces by surprise, and raised the siege of the town; then hastened to Brescia, and, after a fierce struggle, wrested Brescia from the Venetians; marched then to Ravenna, and on Easter-day, in the year 1511, overthrew the army of the Pope: but, when the battle was won, perished in a hasty charge. With him—though he was but a youth of one or two and twenty—fell for a time the cause of France in Italy. Had he lived, he would assuredly have taken Rome. He fell, and his successor in command, when he had made himself safe in Ravenna, waited for instructions to be sent from Paris. Maximilian had deserted his ally. Before the battle of Ravenna, orders had been issued for the departure of the German troops out of the French army, but von Empser, their leader, generously urged upon Gaston that France should give battle, and use his services while he was still there to offer them. From that date the defection of the Germans went on rapidly. Maximilian was about to pass from alliance with France into enmity, and to participate with the King of England in the imminent invasion of the

territories of King Louis. Such changes of side, founded upon motives rarely honourable, form throughout a noticeable feature in the history of these Italian struggles. In what way did they affect the fortunes of Cornelius Agrippa?

He seems to have released himself as much as possible out of the whole web of state policy. Not only did he remain in Italy, where he had found several learned friends, many of them being persons of high social importance, and where he had also obtained a patron in the Marquis of Monferrat, but he seems also to have abided, if he still served as a soldier, by the cause he had gone thither to maintain, as long as he could do so without formal disloyalty. In the summer of the year 1512, Maximilian allowed passage through the Tyrol to a body of eighteen thousand Swiss, who were main instruments in the expulsion of the French from Italy. Jacob von Empser was still holding by the cause of France as if it were his master's, and when news came of the descent meditated by the Swiss and the Venetians, he was stationed with a little garrison in Pavia. Cornelius was in Pavia too. The Swiss, Venetians, and troops of the Pope advanced, numerous and powerful, against the wreck of the French army, which was soon compelled to betake itself also to Pavia for refuge. There it made speed to add a bridge of boats to the stone bridge already existing, with the intention of so opening for themselves a way of flight, should further flight be necessary. All was done that could be done in two days for defence of the town-

walls and gates; but in two days the Swiss were at the gates, and not long afterwards, by unknown means obtained an entrance through the castle, and were in the market-place. A deadly struggle then ensued; many united with the Chevalier Bayard to keep the enemy in check while the retreat of the French army was commenced across the bridge of boats. Presently word came that in small boats the Swiss were crossing, that escape would soon be made impossible;—and the retreat over the bridge was hurried, under the protection of a body of three hundred German soldiers, who defended the approaches. The cavalry had already crossed, when a misfortune happened. A long culverin, named Madame de Fourly, taken as a trophy from the Spaniards at Ravenna, was being dragged across,—the bridge broke under it, and the three hundred Germans were left in the power of the enemy. Many plunged into the water and were drowned, others were killed, some were made prisoners¹. Cornelius Agrippa was made prisoner².

Reading Agrippa's correspondence by the light of these events, we come to the conclusion that, diverted by his patron, William Palæologus, Marquis of Monferrat, from active military duty, he was still keeping his mind on the professorship, and labouring to push his fortunes as a scholar, when the war had reached its crisis. Certainly he was not at the battle of Ravenna, for that was fought

¹ *Chronique de Bayart, par le Loyal Serviteur*, ch. 55. *Memoires de Fleurange*, cap. 31.

² Ep. 33, Lib. i. p. 708.

on the eleventh of April, and upon the sixth we find Agrippa writing to Landulph¹ from the castle of a learned friend, Bartholomew Rosati, at a little place called Lavizaro, five miles from Novara, on the way to Mortara. He was staying at Lavizaro when the present of asparagus was sent by the friend in the adjoining little town of Gravellona, who had learnt from the barber of the district that he had postponed his intention of returning instantly to Milan. He was still at Lavizaro, meditating, not a hurried journey to Ravenna, but a leisurely return to Milan, when writing to Landulph six days before the battle: "Mind what I told you when I quitted Milan; do not give up a certainty for an uncertainty; nothing is more perilous than to rush without a skilful leader into the house of Dædalus. Heed my advice, for our friendship compels me to be solicitous for the safety and comfort of us both. Wait but a little while, till I come back to Milan, and then I will show you the true way to glory, long, long contemplated. Either yield to my wish, or do nothing without telling me quietly what you mean to do." The house of Dædalus, the maker of the Labyrinth, was, possibly, the maze of European politics, then, as we have seen, in a dangerously complicated state, and Agrippa seems to have been afraid lest his friend might commit himself to a search after fortune in the midst of it. The answer of Landulph reported him at Pavia, and thereupon, on the nineteenth of April²,

¹ Ep. 29, Lib. i. pp. 706-7.

² Ep. 30, Lib. i. p. 707.

a week after the battle of Ravenna, Cornelius, who is still at Lavizaro, expresses his great satisfaction, and adds, "You have gone there as my precursor, for to betake myself thither has been now for a long course of days my secret meditation; I will now carry out my thoughts and soon be with you. When I am come you may set care aside, for I will not cheat you with promises, but give you a real help over your doubts where it is needed; and so, having put your affairs in prosperous condition, we will take counsel as to what next shall be done."

The patron by whose help all difficulties in the way of a convenient settlement at Pavia were to be conquered, was William Palæologus, Marquis of Monferrat. Monferrat, which sixty years afterwards became a duchy, was then an ancient Lombard marquisate, close upon Pavia, having not quite three hundred square miles of domain. It was made a marquisate by Otho I. in the year 967, and in 1305 the original main line died out, John the Just leaving no nearer heir than the son of his sister Violante by the Greek emperor Andronicus II. Thus the imperial name of Palæologus came to be that of the Marquises of Monferrat, the William who was Agrippa's patron being descended from the son of Violante, Theodore Comnenus Palæologus. William was the last of the race but one. John George, his successor, who had been Bishop of Casale, died in 1533 while making arrangements for his marriage, and so the succession was thrown open to dispute. It was generally at Casale, the most important of his towns, that the Marquis of Monferrat had Agrippa's

company, but when Agrippa was at Lavizaro he was not at a great distance from him.

Having written to Landulph that he intended joining him at Pavia, Cornelius very soon followed his letter. Before the close of the same month he is with his friend, and sends a cabalistical book, with a little note, from Pavia to a learned priest who had desired to borrow it. The note is of a kind to prove that his mind has not been changed by the attacks of Catilinet, or his experiences of the theological discussions at Cologne.

“I send you,” he says in it¹, “venerable Father Chrysostom, that little cabalistical book you wished for: concerning which I would not have you ignorant that this is the divine science sublime beyond all human tracing, which, if it become intelligible to you by continual reflection, will fill your entire mind abundantly with all good things. The whole art is indeed sacred and divine, and, without doubt, of efficacy: therefore, my Chrysostom, while you are so eager to exercise yourself therein, cover with silence the great mystery within the secret depths of your religious heart, conceal it with a constant taciturnity; for it would be an irreligious act to publish to the knowledge of the multitude a language so full of the majesty of Heaven. Farewell. Pavia, April 30, 1512.”

Not very long afterwards, Agrippa being still at Pavia, and Landulph having gone or been sent to Lavizaro, very possibly to make some application to the Marquis of Monferrat, the storm flies towards the University town. The

¹ Ep. 31, Lib. i. p. 707.

German garrison is first put in, and then the whole camp hurries to take shelter behind its walls. Affairs being in this state, Landulph, writing from Lavizaro¹, says :

“Greatest Agrippa, other self, anxious about your position, where you may be, what you may be doing, and how you prosper among these tumults of war, unable to reach you myself safely—I write this letter that you may know what I do and where I am, for I am here to watch in person over my own welfare, which would perish were I absent.” (The welfare over which he watches, as his own, includes that of his wife and his two little ones.) “Ascertain whether Francis, the son of George Supersax, is in the camp” (George auf der Flüe, called Suprasaxus, was a Wallachian chief, who obtained great fame for his prowess in those wars, and, I think, at this time was in the castle of St. Angelo, imprisoned by the Pope for worrying a bishop. As soon as he was released, he fastened on the same bishop again with a fresh relish. He had twelve sons and eleven daughters. Of one of the sons, then, Francis, wrote Landulph, Find out whether he is in the camp at Pavia), “for he is my intimate friend. If there be any other friends of yours there, tell me; for this is a time when friends are needed. I heard much of the tumult at Pavia” (namely, the rush of the French troops to the cover of its walls); “but however it may be, if you are well, I am glad. Commend me to our common acquaintance. I suspect that Pavia will not be the pleasantest of dwelling-places, yet I would not have run away

¹ Ep. 32, Lib. i. p. 708.

from you so soon, but would have postponed everything on your behalf, as I have done before, if you were not relying on the friendship of the magnificent Lancelot Lunate, who loves you before everything. As soon as the road is safe I will make haste to come to you. Lavizaro, June 24, 1512."

Before Landulph wrote next, his friend had been made prisoner in the last struggle at Pavia. "Most excellent Agrippa," runs the letter¹, "Domitius brought me word to-day that you had been captured by the Swiss, but had regained your freedom without much difficulty, and returned to Milan with the magnificent Lancelot: most welcome news to me. He also bade me, in your name, having heard that the Swiss are gone, make speed to join you. Therefore, I wish to know what you propose doing: Do you mean to be at Pavia, or with the Marquis of Monferrat? I will not be wanting to you; only tell me what I am to do. Lavizaro, July 13, 1512."

The family of Lunate, which at this critical time yielded a friend to Cornelius, belonged to Pavia, and was one of considerable importance. Its last chief had been Bernardine, successively apostolical protonotary and cardinal deacon, who had been employed by Alexander VI. as a legate in the struggles with his enemies at Rome. He had died fifteen years before this time, aged only forty-five. Of his successor, Lancelot, I know only that in Agrippa's correspondence he is, whenever named, entitled, as a noble, the Magnificent.

¹ Ep. 33, Lib. i. p. 708.

The dangers of travel, dreaded by Landulph, were at that time serious, for they depended not only on the presence of so many hostile bands, but they were aggravated by the fury of the Lombard people. Having suffered from the licence of the French camp grievous wrongs, the native peasantry fell savagely at last upon every Frenchman not protected by the presence of an army. In this year, 1512, fifteen hundred French soldiers and merchants are said to have been massacred in detail, their goods being also plundered, after the departure of the French general, Trivulzio, from Milan. Houses and shops that belonged to persons friendly to the French were broken into and destroyed¹. In a little house at Milan, Landulph had established his small family. Thither he journeyed one October day, accompanied by his brother Gian Angelo, who had but lately joined him, and he reached Milan in time to find his home invaded by six Swiss foot-soldiers, to whom it had been pointed out by a spy as the house of a man favourable to the French. But for his brother's help, he says, there would have been an end of everything². Landulph's family, however, was in safe shelter within the castle of his friend at Lavizaro, which contained a garrison of forty fugitives from Pavia. In that town it may here be said that Galbianus, who had been so active a promoter of the Catalonian enterprise narrated at the outset of this history, was killed when Cornelius was taken prisoner³.

¹ *Muratori*, sub anno MDXII.

² Ep. 35, Lib. i. p. 709.

³ Ep. 34, Lib. i. p. 708 ; and for the next citation.

“Nothing,” Landulph writes to Agrippa, “can be done in the midst of this confusion. If you were here, the time would suit for doing something with the Marquis of Monferrat.” Now, Monferrat was in arms at the head of his own vassals, waging, like other native princes, independent war¹; on behalf of himself in the first instance, and—as far as Milan was concerned—of Maximilian Sforza. The cause of Sforza was that of the Emperor in a great measure, but in no degree that of the King of France. “We are all well,” writes Landulph², “except my brother Francis, sick of fever. My son Camille, who lives in you” (Cornelius had won the heart of his friend’s child), “our little daughter Prudence, and my wife Pentesilea are well. Should Pavia prove unsafe, we must find a better place. Take care of your health; nothing is fitter at a time like this than to rest under the trees in this rich country, and care only about being well.” Thus he wrote to his friend in the ripe August weather. But Agrippa was no man to sleep through the hot noon of trial. He could live only by following his calling as a soldier, and though his camp study was divine philosophy, though all his hopes and efforts were bent on an escape into a pure scholastic life, he yet knew that he had bread to earn for wife and child³, and in the midst of tumult and confusion he must strive to earn it. His dependence now must be upon Monferrat and Milan.

There was an end for the present of the French in Milan. By the close of the year, except here and there a

¹ Muratori.

² Ep. 34, Lib. i.

³ Ep. 49, Lib. i. p. 715.

little garrison, not a French soldier maintained ground in the duchy. The French being expelled, contest arose for the possession of the soil. Emperor Maximilian desired it, but the Pope was unwilling to favour his desire. At the same time, nearly all the smaller chiefs of Italy chose rather to have a man of their own standing than a lofty monarch in the midst of them. By promises and bribes, therefore, the negotiation ended in the Emperor's consent that the duchy should be granted to its proper ruling family; and, accordingly, on the twenty-ninth of December, 1512, Maximilian Sforza, who had been an exile from his ninth year to his twenty-first, re-entered Milan as its duke. He was escorted by a troop of Swiss, and their great orator, the Cardinal of the Swiss town of Sion, Matthew Scheiner, a man of the people, in succession street-singer, school-master, curate, canon of the little town of Sion, who poured the violence and obstinacy of his hatred to the French into fierce words, and also was a man at all times ready with the sword. He was, indeed, said to have obtained his bishopric by threatening the chapter sword in hand. This chief of the Swiss finally was made Cardinal of Sion, in the Valais, to please his countrymen, over whom he of all men had the greatest influence. The new duke, entering his capital so attended, was met as he rode under the Pisan Gate by more than a hundred gentlemen of Milan, attired in the colours of his livery; and preceded by this escort, he rode under numerous triumphal arches to the ducal court—there was a French garrison still holding the castle—and with the glad consent of the

people was then formally hailed as Maximilian Sforza, Duke of Milan, the authority being bestowed upon him in distinct terms as the gift of the Swiss¹.

While these changes were in progress, Cornelius Agrippa was attaching himself formally as a retainer to the Marquis of Monferrat, whose cause having become that of the Emperor could be espoused without disloyalty. Towards the close of November (1512), he was settled at Monferrat's chief town of Casale².

In the February following, Pope Julius II. died, and the cardinals making haste to avoid overt signs of the Emperor's ambition, chose their Pope from the house of the Medici, Leo X. Louis of France, having made peace in Italy by a treaty with Venice, sought to be reconciled with the new Pope, and offered both to abandon the Council of Pisa—still sitting in France—and to become a good, devout, and obedient son to the Holy See, if only his Holiness would revoke the censures of his predecessors. With the king, Leo temporised, but what the king did not obtain readily, was graciously accorded to the humble scholar. On behalf of Cornelius Agrippa, friendly representations had been made by Ennius Filonardus, bishop of a little town in the Campagna, called Veroli, and in the first year of the new pontificate, a kind letter was sent to Cornelius Agrippa, from the hand of Leo's secretary, Peter Bembo, himself a good scholar, not then known as cardinal, but as the author of a book of love

¹ *Storia di Milano*; del Conte Pietro Verri, cap. xxi.

² Ep. 37, Lib. i. p. 710.

dialogues, the Azolani, well studied by thousands of his countrymen. Four months after his elevation to St. Peter's Chair thus Leo revokes, by the hand of his secretary, the anathemas of Julius¹:

“Beloved son, health to you and the apostolic benediction. From letters of our venerable brother and nuncio, Ennius, Bishop of Veroli, and from the speech of others, we have learnt your devotion to the holy apostolic seat, and your diligent care to maintain its safety and its freedom; which information has been very welcome to us. Wherefore we commend you greatly in the Lord, praising that temper and courage; we also exhort you to remain in the same mind and obedience both towards the seat itself and towards ourselves, ready to show, as occasion offers, in all things your good desert, and that you are received into the bosom of our paternal charity. Of these things our before-named nuncio will speak to you more fully. Given at St. Peter's at Rome, under the seal of the Fisherman, on the eleventh of July, 1513. In the first year of our Pontificate.”

Reconciled formally to the head of the Church, Cornelius was now free to pursue his design of winning way as a philosopher at Pavia. He wore no scholar's dress, for he was captain of a troop of soldiers, owning Maximilian Sforza for their master². The new duke was a young spendthrift, who was not only at great charge to maintain troops—paying a hundred thousand ducats

¹ Ep. 38, Lib. i. p. 710.

² *H. C. Agrippæ Orationes*, No. II. Op. Tom. ii. p. 1075.

yearly to the Swiss, seventy-four thousand to other men-at-arms, as much among garrisons of castles, and so forth—but he also lavished costly favours on his table-companions, among whom there was one who amused himself especially, and no doubt paid to be entertained, with the researches of Cornelius, Oldrado Lampugnano, who was made by the duke Count of Rivolta¹. Casale, Milan, and Rivolta became, therefore, places at which it was profitable for Agrippa to employ himself. Louis of France, while engaged in meeting the invasion of his territory by Henry VIII. and the Emperor, who had combined by treaty at Malines under the Princess Margaret's good auspices, to fight the French,—Louis, thus occupied at home, had sent an army to the Milanese when he heard how ill the new duke sped in winning the affections of his people. But if the Italians were learning to despise their own prince, they had learnt to hate the foreigner; and the French army, beaten at Novara, was chased speedily over the border. Except only this burst of war, in the year 1513, there was little to demand Agrippa's service as a soldier, either in that year or the next, which was a year of general accommodation and pacification. Such leisure, therefore, as the times afforded, was spent in the cultivation of congenial friendships: that of Augustine Ritius², the astronomer; that of the more enlightened bishops and priests living (as far too many did, away from

¹ Verri, *Storia di Milano*. Cornelius is said to be living at Rivolta. Ep. 41, Lib. i. p. 711.

² Agrippa, *De Incertitudine et Vanitate Scientiarum*, cap. xxx.

their own sees) in Milan; finally, that of the great lords, who chose to derive intellectual amusement from his knowledge. Upon some of that political business of the duchy with which the Swiss were from the beginning so inextricably bound, towards the end of the year 1513, or at the beginning of the year 1514, Agrippa was sent to Switzerland¹, and there he became associated in the public trust with Alexander Landi², a man of good

¹ Ep. 40, Lib. i. p. 711.

² It is right to state here that this part of the narrative, so far as concerns Alexander Landi and the Count of Rivolta, is not perfectly reliable. Agrippa's letters tally, as the reader may perceive, most perfectly with the other trustworthy records of the time, but I find in the forty-second letter of the first book a sentence which would make Alexander Landi the Count of Rivolta, and give the letters I ascribe to Landi to an unknown friend. (Many of them, including nearly all Landulph's, are headed only *Amicus ad Agrippam*, but in most cases the writer of each is obvious from internal evidence.) Now against Alexander Landi's countship of Rivolta have to be set these facts: that Count Verri, in his *Storia di Milano*, gives Rivolta at this time to Oldrado Lampugnano;—that in Agrippa's correspondence the Count of Rivolta is complained of as a man "*qui nostras vigilias in suam trahere debeat lasciviam*," a notion of him very well according with Verri's mention of Lampugnano as a creature of Sforza, and not at all according with Agrippa's mention of Alexander Landi in his *De triplici ratione cognoscendi Dei*, as one to whom the depths of his heart were laid open in spiritual converse;—again, that I can find no note elsewhere of a Landi of Placentia having been Count of Rivolta. There are other arguments drawn from internal evidence upon which it would be tedious to dwell. Considerations of this kind appear to justify the clearing up of every difficulty by changing in the text of one of Agrippa's letters an accusative into a dative in the case of a proper name, which may have been written in a contracted form and developed incorrectly, as indeed it is also misspelt (Laudum for Landum) by the printer. In Letter 42 (Book I.), instead of "*Nuperrime mihi relatum fuit, Alexandrum Laudum comitem Ripaltæ te Placentiæ convenisse*," &c., I read, "*Nuperrime mihi relatum fuit, Alexandro Lando, comitem Ripaltæ*," &c. The comic formality of the "to me, Alexander Landi" would be quite in place here, for the letter, which is not a long one, opens with a joke, and in this part the writer might be

family from Placentia, a friend, having like tastes with his own. The Landis of Placentia yielded in the next generation a professor of medicine to Pavia, Bassiano Landi; and another of the house was Marquis of Casale, and a writer upon jurisprudence. Alexander complained afterwards of a betrayal by Cornelius of his learned secrets to the Count of Rivolta. They were at the service of any other of Agrippa's friends, but the Count of Rivolta, said this new acquaintance, is a libertine unworthy to profit by the scholar's vigils. As an associate of the young Duke of Milan, he most probably deserved this character.

Complaint of this kind was no source of serious dispute. Cornelius is busy in the house of Landi, at Placentia, in August of the year 1514; he has some work to do, and his friend writes to urge that he will get it done with all speed, and then repairing to Milan, do what has to be done there—make, perhaps, the due report—and get his travelling expenses for an expedition to the Papal court. Such an expedition is designed, and there is no reason why they should not make it together. There had also been an embassy from the Duke of Milan to the German court, in which a friend of Agrippa's shared, who would have been glad if the young scholar had been associated with the party.

In the house at Placentia, Cornelius, as busy over his own private study of the Cabalists and of Mercurius Tris-

glad to cover with half-joking phrase a word of complaint which is complaint, but yet on which he does not wish to dwell unkindly. The change here made may be wrong.

megistus as over any public matters, had amused himself by sketching a large Mercury with charcoal upon one of Landi's walls. Upon this freak followed some grim jesting in his friend's next letter.—Mercury is a flying god, take heed that the black charcoal in your picture of him be not ominous¹. Your philosophy is under a mutable and often unfriendly patron, and there does, indeed, go fire and fagot to the tracing of it. May there come nothing worse of the kind near your skin than a morsel of cold charcoal between the fingers.—Such was the purport of the joke, that played with a real terror. But Cornelius was very fearless. Cabalism, at any rate, was likely to be received better at Pavia than at Cologne; and by the help of Mercury he was then hoping very quickly to achieve the object kept so steadfastly in view since the first day that he set out from Trent for the Italian wars.

And truly, when the summer of the next year came, the year 1515, Cornelius, then twenty-nine years old, seemed to have entered on the summer of his life. Landulph had gone before him to secure new friends², and Monferrat probably had influenced his brother-Marquis, John Gonzaga, who was then at the head of the University of Pavia. Such influence had probably been sought, and could not have been slight, inasmuch as the two houses, Monferrat and Gonzaga, intermarried soon after this time, and for want of nearer heirs the domain, together with the title of Monferrat, passed within twenty years into the hands of the Gonzagas of Mantua.

¹ Ep. 42, Lib. i.

² Ep. 45, Lib. i.

At last, therefore, before the most illustrious Marquis and the most excellent Fathers in the town and University of Pavia, Cornelius stands forward as a scholar, and within the precincts of the University displays his learning and his deep research into occult science, especially as an exponent of the Pimander of Hermes Trismegistus. His introductory oration is among the printed works that have come down to us¹. He tells how, beset by cares and heavy duties during the past three years of miserable war, he has desired to find safe passage to some happy shore across the sea of blood. To do this it was requisite to find some duty, and a worthy one, but he could see none better or less inconsistent with his profession of arms than to interpret the mystery of a divine philosophy in that most flourishing gymnasium. His natural bent had been from early youth to a consideration of divine mysteries, and he had never known a more delightful spectacle for contemplation than the wise ordering of nature. To learn these mysteries and teach them to others had been at all times his chief ambition, as he had already taught them to some students in the University of Pisa. Nevertheless, he feared lest the consummate scholars before whom he ventured to ascend the chair he then was occupying might resent as insolent presumption or temerity the attempt of a barbarian, a soldier in the dress of strangers, still in the crude immaturity of life, to teach matters so grave, that belonged rather to the practised skill of the maturest doctors.

¹ *Oratio. II. habita Papiæ, &c.* Op. Tom. ii. p. 1073.

Then he speaks confidently of his power to do that which he has undertaken. For his youth he says, that the young can sometimes discriminate as well as, or even better than more aged persons; that good wit comes by intelligence, not lapse of time. He refers to the youth of Samuel, Solomon, and Daniel. Neither must the illustrious Marquis John Gonzaga, that brave general, wonder at seeing in the pulpit, as professor of sacred letters, one whom he had known of late years as a captain over soldiers in the most fortunate Imperial camp, nor must that pure audience reject as profane a man whose hands have been imbrued in human blood. Among the old poets and prophets, Pallas and Bellona were a single deity, and there are many examples of men eminent alike in arts and arms. To say nothing of Demosthenes, strenuous orator, who in war cast his shield away and fled before the enemy, there were unconquered Scipios and Catos, innumerable Roman and Greek chiefs, above all there was Julius Cæsar, and there was Charlemagne. It was of a centurion also that our Master said he had not found faith equal to his in Israel. He adds, according to the way of the time, more illustrations, and ends with the golden sword which Jeremiah the prophet was seen to present to Judas Maccabæus, saying, Receive the holy sword, a gift from God, wherewith to smite the adversaries of my people. "With which words," says Agrippa, "my unconquered Emperor did consecrate me also when, having almost as a boy received the sword from his hands, I became known as a not unsuccessful soldier." But is he

a barbarian? Barbarians, he urges, are rational beings, who breathe God's air and receive His gifts; as for his foreign dress, the beard and tattered cloak do not make the philosopher, and the cowl does not make the monk. Wisdom resides not in the clothes. He has been urged, he says, to prosecute the studies of his choice by many hearers with most cogent reasons, counselled and helped by friends who, with innumerable helpful kindnesses have stimulated him to continue what he had begun. "The Gospel, too," he adds, "compels me, lest I be convicted of ingratitude towards both God and man, by burying the talent that has been entrusted to me, or hiding my light under a bushel, and at last fall under one curse with the fig-tree that yielded not its fruit in the due season." It is just to the young orator to remember that in his days a proper—or more than proper—self-consciousness passed commonly in the public addresses of the learned into what we should now consider an improper self-assertion. It was rare for a great scholar to be at once self-conscious and self-contained. The purer aspirations of Cornelius are mingled with a great deal of man's commoner ambition. For both his aspiration's and ambition's sake, and for his wife's sake, he desired to achieve at Pavia the object of his wishes; he has been once turned aside by a harsh opposition to his effort to forsake the military road to fame, and follow happily the peaceful bent of his true genius. Now he is twenty-nine years old, and, whatever he may have written, he has published nothing; he is bound still to the camp, and his heart,

young still, but conscious of the rapid flight of life, is in its own depths pleading nervously and piteously through the words of this oration.—May no Catilinet arise to cross me here. Soldier and stranger as I am, my soul is that of a true scholar; I can learn and teach, and to do both unhindered, living happily with wife and family, a scholar among scholars, is the dear wish of my heart. Grave doctors of Pavia, do not quench the fire upon the little hearth that I have lighted among you.

Having endeavoured to remove objections likely to be urged against himself, Cornelius briefly refers to the fitness of the time for his discussions now that peace has followed upon war, and days of liberty have been secured to them by the courage and wisdom of that most unconquered triumpher over his enemies, Hercules Maximilian Sforza, eighth Duke of Milan. A passing compliment is paid to John Gonzaga, and the subject of the lectures is at last approached. They are upon Mercury or Hermes Trismegistus, and will give the spirit of his dialogues on the Divine Power and Wisdom. Cornelius explains first who Hermes is, and, according to the teaching of the Rabbi Abraham of Avenazre, identifies him with Enoch. He gave laws to Egypt, was the first observer of the stars, the author and inventor of Theology; the author, too, in a material sense, of twenty-six thousand five hundred and twenty-five volumes of books, wherein were contained stupendous mysteries. “When dying,” adds Agrippa, “it is said that he thus addressed those standing round about him: ‘Thus far, my children, driven from my own

country I have lived a pilgrim and an exile, now, however, I return in safety to my home. When after a little time, the chains of the body being loosened, I shall have departed from you, never weep for me as dead, for I re-enter that best and happy city to which its citizens all come through the corruption of death. For there God only is the great Prince, who fills His citizens with wonder-working sweetness.' But enough of the author. We will now speak only of his book. Its title is, *Pimander*; or, *Upon the Wisdom and Power of God*. It is a book most choice for the elegance of its language, most weighty for the abundance of its information, full of grace and propriety, full of wisdom and mysteries. For it contains the profoundest mysteries of the most ancient theology, and the arcana of all philosophy, which things it may not be so much said to contain as to explain. For it teaches us, what God is, what the world, what a mind, what each sort of demon, what the soul, what the ordering of Providence, what and whence the necessity of Fate, what the law of nature, what human justice, what religion, what sacred ceremonies, rites, temples, observances, and holy mysteries; it instructs us besides in the knowledge of ourselves, on the soaring of the intellect, on secret prayers, marriage with Heaven, and the sacrament of regeneration." This sort of book Agrippa proposes to explain and illustrate, partly theologically, partly philosophically, partly dialectically and rhetorically, enumerating pertinent texts, authorities, examples, and experiences, and confirming the doctrine of the book, as occasion offers, by

the sanction of ecclesiastical and civil law. With the unpublished books of Occult Philosophy among his papers, and with the knowledge of the fact that in these lectures he desires to prove his own accomplishments as a physician, a lawyer, and a theologian, we can conceive very well what these lectures upon Hermes Trismegistus were. He formally and carefully disclaimed the heresy of any word that he might say contrary to the opinion of the holy Church, and, with that reserve upon all points of philosophy and doctrine that might happen to be touched upon in the course of his demonstrations, he declared himself ready at the commencement of each lecture to reply to every question that had been asked verbally or in writing, and answer every objection that had been made at the conclusion of the last. But the questions and objections must be put upon substantial grounds, and in good faith be meant to correct error or increase knowledge. For at the same time he declared that of the vain syllogisms of the dialecticians, who care not for the matter discussed, but only for the disputation, who grind truth to powder with their altercations, and, thereafter, care not by how light a wind it may be blown away, of any idle puzzles contrived for him by persons of this class he should take no notice whatever.

In this mood, then, Cornelius proceeded, and with much applause, to sketch a Mercury before the University of Pavia. His Mercury has lost, through later criticism, the divine proportions he ascribed to it. The man himself is now regarded as a myth; indeed there are reckoned

among the myths of Egypt generally two, and sometimes three, fabulous persons of the name; the oldest, known in his own land as Thoyt or Thoth, being the first form of the Hermes and Mercury of Greece and Rome. He was, in brief, the inventor of all human knowledge, and the source of the Hermetic Art of alchemists. The Hermes Trismegistus, so much honoured in the sixteenth century, came, according to Ælian, one thousand years later, in the time of Sesostris, restored lost arts, taught observation of the stars, and, having invented hieroglyphics, wrote his wisdom upon pillars. Others bring even a third Mercury upon the scene, and consider him to be but a third manifestation of one deity, calling him Trismegistus, not as thrice great, but thrice born to sinless life. There was one Hermes only commonly referred to in the writings of the Cabalist, and he was not the most ancient,—old myth as he was. For many of the books ascribed to him, and certainly for the Pimander, we are indebted to the Alexandrian philosophers, who combined Jewish, Greek, and Christian opinions with fragments of Egyptian tradition, and produced in that way, by the manufacture of a prophet, evidence apparently almost as old as man, in favour of their tenets. Also because the name of Hermes would give currency to any book, books written in that name were very numerous.

The Mercury sketched by Agrippa proved auspicious, leading him, not to martyrdom, but to the best fulfilment of his hope. He was admitted by the University of Pavia to its degree of doctor in each faculty. Doctor of Divinity

before, he became then Doctor of Medicine and Law¹. Soon afterwards, in welcoming as orator for the University an after-comer to the doctorate of law, we find him expatiating upon jurisprudence, quoting Ulpian, and speaking throughout the language of the lawyers². Ere long, too, we shall see him a practitioner of medicine. Doctor of law, physic, and divinity, he has also before this time earned a knighthood on the battle-field.

In what battle he won that distinction we are not informed. He himself says, after telling of his acquisition of the dignity of Doctor "utriusque juris" and of Medicine, as if by after-thought: "Before that time I was a knight, which rank I did not beg for, borrow in foreign travels, or secure by impudence and insolence at the inthronisation of a king, but earned it by valour in war, among the troops in open battle³."

He has secured, therefore, the best honours attainable in arts and arms. He is acquainted at this time with eight languages, master of six. He is distinguished among the learned for his cultivation of occult philosophy, upon which he has a complete work in manuscript, and though he has not yet committed anything to press, much has been written by him upon which he hopes to rest a title to fair fame. He is not now unprosperous. There is a lull in war, during which he receives the pay to which he is entitled for his military services, and can earn money also as a teacher in the University. He has a wife

¹ Ep. 21, Lib. vii. p. 1021.

² *Oratio. III. Pro Quodam Doctorando.* Op. Tom. ii. p. 1084.

³ Ep. 21, Lib. vii. p. 1021; and for what follows until the next reference.

whom he loves dearly, and more than a single child. With these he has settled in the town of Pavia. His wife's father and her brother are there also. The father seems to have been with the army, and to have shared some of his son-in-law's responsibility in the matter of the Council of Pisa, for a Franciscus of his name was sent to the Pope on a mission from the Cardinal of Santa Croce¹. Cornelius thinks of his wife with the utmost tenderness. "I give," he writes to a friend², "innumerable thanks to the omnipotent God, who has joined me to a wife after my own heart; a maiden noble and well-mannered, young, beautiful, who lives so much in harmony with all my habits, that never has a word of scolding dropped between us, and wherein I count myself happiest of all, however our affairs change, in prosperity and adversity always alike kind to me, alike affable, constant; most just in mind and sound in counsel, always self-possessed." When he said that, it was after three years more of life than have been yet accounted for,—three years of severe trial, among which the sorest, at the period of which we now speak, was at hand. His Mercury proved truly a winged god. The ripe fruit of his ambition, which Agrippa counted himself happy to have plucked, crumbled to ashes in his mouth. In a few months the fire was quenched upon the little hearth at Pavia, and he who had been at so much pains to kindle it went forth a beggar, with no prospect of advancement in the world.

¹ *Annales Ecclesiast. Odoric Rinaldi.* Tom. xi. p. 581.

² Ep. 19, Lib. ii. p. 736.

CHAPTER XV.

BEGGARY.

FORTUNE of war changed very suddenly the tenor of Agrippa's life. The year 1515 opened with the death of Louis XII. of France. Francis I., who succeeded him, a youth of twenty-one, directed his attention promptly to the Milanese. He raised a considerable army, which he proposed to accompany, and did accompany, in person into Italy. The hope of the duchy was entirely in the Swiss, and the fomenter of their zeal, the Cardinal of Sion, moving about the town in the brown dress of a civilian¹, was so much master there, that he could even venture to put to the torture the duke's cousin, Ottaviano Sforza, Bishop of Lodi, upon the most vague suspicion of communication with the enemy. The Swiss attempted to defend the passes of the Alps, but the French army eluded them, and crossed in safety by a perilous way, over which the enemy had set no watch. The Swiss retired to defend Milan.

Francis had leagued himself with the Venetians. Empe-

¹ The narrative in this chapter is generally made out by collation of Agrippa's writings with Count Verri's *Storia di Milano*.

ror Maximilian united with the Pope and King of Naples to maintain Maximilian Sforza in his duchy, and the smaller Italian chiefs opposed the prospect of a powerful and active king for neighbour. When the French army approached Milan, all the force available was mustered. On the tenth of September, the Cardinal of Sion brought a large body of Swiss into the town. The Duke of Savoy, the Marquis of Monferrat, the Marquis of Saluzzo, and others, prepared also for battle, and the ill-starred Cornelius Agrippa was called to the field again. King Francis had in succession occupied various towns, marched to Binasco; had marched thence to Pavia. There was an end of study. The new doctor took the written produce of his labours with him into Milan, and, on the fourteenth of September, met the French in arms at Marignano. The battle, as the world knows, was as desperate as it was, for the time, decisive in its issue. The Swiss, fighting for Maximilian under the promise of eight hundred thousand gold ducats if they won the day, fought the day through; when night closed the two armies lay down on the battle-field to rise and end the struggle as the light should serve them. On the following morning the arrival of Venetian reinforcements secured victory to the French; the Swiss and the Italians were routed, and Cornelius lost in the rout a pocket-full of manuscripts. Among smaller writings and detached notes there were thus lost his commentaries on the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, completed as far as the sixth chapter, besides a small bundle of commentaries, as yet only roughly noted,

on his own Books of Occult Philosophy. There was a pupil of his among the combatants, Christopher Schilling, of Lucerne, who saw the sheets departing from their owner, and, in the heat of battle, mindful of the cause of scholarship, plunged forward to rescue them. Cornelius heard afterwards of this, and that some papers had so been saved; perhaps, therefore, his loss was not irreparable¹.

His position otherwise was, by the victory of the French at Marignano, rendered desperate. King Francis fixed his military residence at Pavia, while Maximilian Sforza made what terms he could, still holding the citadel of Milan. Constable Bourbon was governor for Francis in the town. On the eighth of October the citadel was ceded to the French—two years had not elapsed since they last quitted it—and Maximilian Sforza withdrew to French soil upon a pension, glad, he said, to be quit of slavery and the Swiss, the Emperor's caprices, and the thieves of Spain. Sforza might so retire, the neighbouring Italian princes might accept the stern arbitrement of war, and ride, as they did on the eleventh of October, with the Marquis of Monferrat among them, as the friendly escort of King Francis, into his new capital of Milan. Cornelius Agrippa was a German noble, owing strict allegiance to the Emperor. He could make no submission to King Francis. His vocation was gone, therefore, as a soldier; hostile to the new rule, he could no longer teach at Pavia; his military pension ceased, and there was an abrupt end of his lectures.

¹ Ep. 14, Lib. ii. pp. 732, 733, for the preceding.

King Francis proceeded next to make his new position the more sure by coming to an understanding with the Pope. Arrangements were signed at Viterbo on the thirteenth of October, tending very much to the propitiation of his Holiness; before the year was out the Concordat was signed at Bologna, which obtained the friendship of the Pope for Francis at the price of rights belonging to the Church in France. The more complete success of Francis was but the more complete ruin to Cornelius Agrippa. Doubtless there was a seed of war sown by this seizure of Milan. Germany must resist, and Italy become again a scene of military tumult. Here, however, would be occupation for the future which the scholar had no wish to share; and in the present there was absolutely nothing to be earned or done.

Immediately after the entry of King Francis into Milan, Cornelius Agrippa made several applications to a friend whom he had known at Pavia. The last only was delivered duly, and was thus attended to¹: "I see clearly enough how you are perplexed by fortune; but you must bear this, like a brave man, bravely. I have assured your safety with our prince" (Monferrat). "The rest is, that you must go to him, say you are leaving for Casale, and ask his excellency to give orders to Galeotti and Antonio of Altavilla, the masters of his household, that they should write to Casale to have you received, when you get there, among the pensioners. I must remain here for two days, detained by some business: shall find you afterwards at

¹ Ep. 47, Lib. i. pp. 714, 715.

Pavia. Farewell. Commend me to your wife and other friends. Milan, Oct. 16, 1515."

Help had from Monferrat, Cornelius, as we shall see, strove to repay promptly with the scholar's coin. A month afterwards he has been wandering up and down the land in search of bread that may be eaten honestly, has struck a little spark of hope, and hears thus from a friend in Pavia of his wife's brave bearing and unconquered love: "I went to your wife," the friend says¹, "and told her everything according to your order; she replied that she was well treated by her parents and her brother. When I offered any help she needed from my service or my means, she made no other reply. I will visit her again, and should she want anything within my resources, and will tell me, I will succour her for you as if she were my sister. Contrive that you come back soon, very soon, for so asks, beseeches, and requires, your sweetest wife, and I not less. From Pavia, Nov. 24, 1515."

At the same time Cornelius was writing thus to a "most learned Augustine²:" "Either for our impiety, or through the usual influence of the celestial bodies, or by the providence of God, who governs all, so great a plague of arms, or pestilence of soldiers, is everywhere raging, that one can scarcely live secure even in hollows of the mountains. Whither, I ask, in these suspected times, shall I betake myself with my wife and son and family, when home and household goods are gone from us at Pavia, and we have been despoiled of nearly all that we

¹ Ep. 48, Lib. i. p. 715.

² Ep. 49, Lib. i. pp. 715, 716.

possess, except a few things that were rescued. My spirit is sore, and my heart is disturbed within me, because the enemy has persecuted my soul, and humbled my life to the dust. I have thought over my lost substance, the money spent, the stipend lost, our no income, the dearness of everything, and the future threatening worse evils than the present; and I have praised the dead rather than the living, nor have I found one to console me. But turning back upon myself I have reflected that wisdom is stronger than all, and have said, Lord what am I that thou shouldst be mindful of me, or that thou shouldst visit me with mercy? And I have thought much concerning Man in this unwelcome idleness, and in the sadness of absence from my children, and have discussed with myself as I used with Landi of Placentia." Mindful of old talk with Landi, he had, in fact, written a dialogue on Man, and asked his friend Augustine to revise it, that it might be fit for presentation to the Marquis of Monferrat. He was paying for the charity accepted. Augustine, in reply¹, bade him not grieve at a reverse of fortune that had tried and purified his soul. He admired greatly the sublime thoughts in his dialogue, "But this," he added, "I would have counselled you, if you desire this work to be safe from the strokes of those who strive to make a stagnant and immovable Theology obnoxious to every sign of stir or change, you should have thrown the onus of it on a man more learned than I am, and of weightier authority." The dialogue on Man was then sent by

¹ Ep. 50, Lib. i. p. 716.

Agrippa to the marquis, with a letter of dedication, carefully saving the credit of his orthodoxy in one special clause¹. What argument was deficient in it, he said, would be supplied in his forthcoming notes on the *Pimander*. That Agrippa was at this time protected and helped by the marquis is sufficiently clear from the last words of the dedicatory letter, which entitle him "sole refuge of the studious."

But Agrippa's effort to repay his patron's kindness was not at an end. His spirit was disturbed, his heart was overcharged, and he must find relief in earnest utterances. After the dialogue on *Man*, he wrote at the same period, and also for Monferrat², a little treatise on "The Triple way of Knowing God." The dialogue on *Man* was not preserved, the other treatise has come down to us among his works, and, short as it is, contains the essence of its author's mind. It was a longing Godward from the depths of suffering, full of an earnest aspiration, with which, however, there had at last come to be joined a bitter scorn of those who, never rising heavenward, pull heaven down to their own sphere, and standing in the churches and the monasteries bar the upward way.

"The voice of God cries out of heaven, from his sacred mount: Contemplate my creatures, hear the angels, listen to my Son, that ye may become just and pious." This, says Agrippa, is the triple way of knowing God³. He

¹ Ep. 51, Lib. i. pp. 717, 718.

² Ep. 52, Lib. i. pp. 718, 719.

³ *De Triplici Ratione Cognoscendi Deum*. Illustrissimo Excellentissimoque Sacri Romani Imperii Principi, ac vicario, Gulielmo Palæologo,

divides his treatise into six chapters. In the first he treats of the necessity of seeking to know God. In the second, he states this triple way of knowing him. In the third, fourth, and fifth, he treats successively of each of the three ways, and in the last he sums up formally with the creed of the Church, whereby to save himself from risk of being taken for a heretic.

One passage will show the spirit of the chapter, which points out the way of learning to know God through contemplation of His works—study of nature. “The human soul (as Hermes says) seizes and penetrates all things; it mingles by swiftness with the elements, penetrates the depths of the great sea; to it all things yield light, the heavens do not overtop it, no dense mists of the air can shroud its purposes in darkness, no density of earth impede its action; from the depths it can look up to no tall wave by which it shall be overwhelmed. And elsewhere, Cast your soul forth (he says), it will fly faster than you can urge it. Command it to pass into the ocean, it is there before your bidding, although all the while never departing from its home. Bid it fly up into the heavens, and it needs no wings to mount, nothing shall stay its course; the sun’s hot ray, the ample space, the giddy height, the influencing stars, shall not delay it; it shall penetrate to the last region, visit all the heavenly globes, and to what there is beyond them nothing hinders it from

Marchioni Montisferrati, Domino Suo Beneficentissimo, Henricus Cornelius Agrippa beatitudinem perpetuam exoptat. (*Opuscula: De Nob. et Præc. Fæm. Sex., &c. &c.*, ed. 1532, Mense Maio, sig. fol. E vii.—G vii.)

passing on. Think only of the power of the soul, its courage and its swiftness. Therefore the man is inexcusable who knows not God. More inexcusable is he who knowing God in any way, gives Him no worship and no reverence." The second way of knowing God is by the hearing of his angels, and the chapter which explains this is entirely cabalistical. It explains with an undoubting faith the principle of that Cabala, which gave to the Jews "as it were a shadow of the true knowledge of God; the true and perfect knowledge (as the whole school of the Cabalists bears witness) was reserved for the advent of the Messiah, in whom all things are perfected." He says, as a Cabalist, "If you apprehend no more than the literal sense of the Law, apart from the spirit of the future light, truth and perfection, nothing is more ridiculous than the Law, or more like old women's fables and mere wanton talk. Afterwards came Christ, the sun of righteousness, the true light, shining truth, the true perfection of the life of all men who are believers in His name. By Him the law was fulfilled, so that in a manner we need not the mists of creation, or the shadows of the Jewish law through which to perceive God, but have true knowledge of Him by the light of faith in Jesus Christ."

We come thus to the final way of knowing God, that through the Gospel. This chapter is the longest and the best. It is bold, too; all (except the last) are bold, but this is boldest. "If you would be borne up," writes Agrippa, "to the perfect doctrine of Christ, you must pass over the doctrine of initiation, in which, namely, are

discussed the principles and grounds of divine wisdom, the repentance from dead works, baptism, the sacraments, imposition of hands, authority of absolution, resurrection of the dead, eternal judgment, and the like, which all lie in the bark of the tree of life, and are discussed in the schools by scholastic Theologians, and are brought down for disputation and discussion to the form of problems. But those things which belong to better wisdom and more perfect doctrine, namely, what is the gift of heaven, the secret manna known to him only by whom it is received, and what is the good word of God better than that which is in parables delivered to the people, and what is the mystery of the kingdom of heaven, all this is given to be known only by those studying in secret. And what are the powers of the future, what the origin and end of the soul, and the ministration of angelic spirits, what the condition and nature of that immense glory and happiness which we expect, which neither eye hath seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived, all these things are contained in the marrow and core of the Gospel, and known only to the more perfect to whom is given the knowledge of powers and virtues, of miracles and prophecy, and other things upon the trace of which men cannot come by their own strength, but only they who are subject to the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Wherefore such persons are chosen and deputed to bear rule in the Church, that they being illuminated by Faith, acquainted with the will of God, instructed by the Gospel, according to the words of Paul may be leaders of the

blind, a light to those sitting in darkness, teachers of the ignorant, masters of infant minds, having the form of knowledge and truth in the Gospel, of which sort are in the Church, pontiffs, bishops, prelates, doctors, and those to whom is committed the cure of souls. . . . Wherefore, if pontiffs, prelates, doctors, have not in them the prophetic spirit of our divine wisdom, and have not proved by its effect displayed in them their profession of a divine power in the Church, certainly the spirit of such men has not the light of the mind, its faith in Christ is weak, and languishes because over the spirit the flesh dominates too much. For which cause all they, as barren souls, shall be judged and condemned as impious and unjust. He who desires to know God, and merit truly the name of a Theologian, must seek to hold communion with God, and meditate upon His law by day and night. But there are some who speak with tongues inflated with human knowledge, who do not blush to belie God in their life and language, who by their own spirit impudently distort all the Scripture into their own falsity, and narrow divine mysteries to the method of human argument; who having arranged the Divine Word, adulterated with their glosses, under heads of their own invention, establish their own monstrous fancies, and by theft and rapine dare to usurp the sacred name of Theology, wherein they give room only for contentions and brawling disputations, of which Paul writes to the Philippians: Some indeed preach Christ even of envy and strife; and some also of good will. . . . Carnal and earthly is the entire doctrine of that ambitious

race, arrogantly trusting in its own wit, thinking to know God by its own strength, and to find the truth in everything; these are men before whom nothing can be said upon which they are not ready to make choice dispute, it matters not whether on one side or another, and put forward a provable opinion ; an astute race rich in the literature of other people, and at the same time relying insolently on a certain artificial dialectic; though they of themselves know nothing whatever, they wish to be thought learned, therefore they dispute openly in the schools, strong over little shifts with sophisms, calling and thinking themselves wise. Miserably deceived! That which they take to be their help is their impediment. . . . True wisdom does not consist in clamorous disputes, but is hidden in silence and religion through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, whereof the fruit is life eternal. Urban, the Pope, writing to Charles, says : Not by dialectics has it pleased God that His people should be saved; the kingdom of heaven is with simplicity of faith, not wordy contention. The inventor of this pestilent art is the devil; he was the first cunning, pernicious sophist, who proposed his little questions, invented disputations, and, as it were, founded a school. Not content with having lost himself, he discovered an art wherein others might be lost, to the increase and propagation of hurt like his own. Therefore, not suffering man to abide in simple faith, he chose to propose a question upon the divine commands, judging this to be the cleverest contrivance for the overthrow of man. So he first approached Eve like a sophist,

and invited her to a contest of argument by asking, Why hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden? In imitation of that old sophist, the serpent, some of the more recent Theosophists arose, the chiefs, authors, and propagators of so much that is infamous in this our age, whom innumerable other men of the same sort daily follow to their misery. Hence has arisen that horrid and entangled wood, that dark forest of disputation, in which with sordid, weary labour, damnable work is done for little fruit; in which nothing is done by faith, hope, charity, in imitation of Christ, neither by prayers and fastings, watching, seeking, knocking that the gate of the armoury of divine knowledge may be opened, but like the Titans these men warring against Heaven think that by the intricate machines of sophistry the gate of sacred letters may be burst for them." Cornelius goes on to reprove, with equal emphasis, the habit of citing endless authorities, from authors alike ancient and modern, for the purpose of parade, by men whose only wit it is to produce the wit of others. "Not so," he says, "did those early theologians, men solid in wisdom, venerable in authority, holy in their lives, in whose writings citations are simple and infrequent, occurring only when they are required, and then chiefly from the Old Testament, the Gospels, the apostles, or remote antiquity; they were not boastful, though truly having trust in divine grace, conscious of their own wisdom, and the best of teachers, who feared no man's criticism. They spoke truth, not flinch-

ing before the face of man, and have bestowed upon us largess from their own resources, imitating Christ, who like a good master of the house produces what is good and needful out of his own treasury, in all things ripening for us the fruits of true religion and a saving faith." Returning then to his deprecation of the new form of Theology, he bewails the loss of a pristine simplicity. "Nobody," he says, "with pious mind asks knowledge of God; we are all professors of ignorance; we have a new theology, new doctors, new doctrine, nothing ancient, nothing holy, nothing truly religious, and, what is worse, if there be any who devote themselves to this pristine theology and religion, they are called mad, ignorant, irreligious, sometimes even heretics, and (as Hermes says) held to be hateful; there is even peril of their lives decreed against them, they are marked with contumely, often put to death."

Bold speaking to the doctors of the Church, and yet Cornelius takes heed never to break loose from their company. The last chapter of the treatise declares God to be known according to the most ecclesiastical of the creeds used by the orthodox, and declares formally by copious citation that in this creed believes Cornelius Agrippa. His position with regard to the orthodox Church, resembles that taken by Dean Colet in London; and, indeed, so great is in many respects the resemblance between some of the language of this tract and the preaching of Colet, that when we add a consideration of the fact that up to this time Cornelius had of late been writing

commentaries on St. Paul; and that in this work, as in the appeal to Catilinet, written in London, St. Paul is cited with unusual frequency and earnestness, we may fairly conclude that John Colet's influence was great over Agrippa's mind, and the impression made on the young scholar by residence within the Stepney household still abides¹. The complaints of heresy made against Colet may have been in his mind when speaking of the shame and peril to which they were exposed who sought the restoration of a pristine theology.

Of this dissertation, written at Casale for the Marquis of Monferrat, copies went to other learned friends, and there were not wanting influential persons ready to admire the work and honour the fine spirit of the man who could apply himself to such writing for solace in the day of trial. In the mean time, Cornelius was seeking a way out of want, and the best hope of finding it depended on the friendship of Monferrat. The marquis had great influence; his good will was sincere; he was a patron worthy of respect. There was just reason for hope, then, that by his assistance some new means of subsistence might be found for a man well born and nobly bred, who, having obtained his knighthood in the field and earned his doctorate in every faculty, was now, at the age of thirty, ruined by the chance of war.

¹ Compare p. 236.

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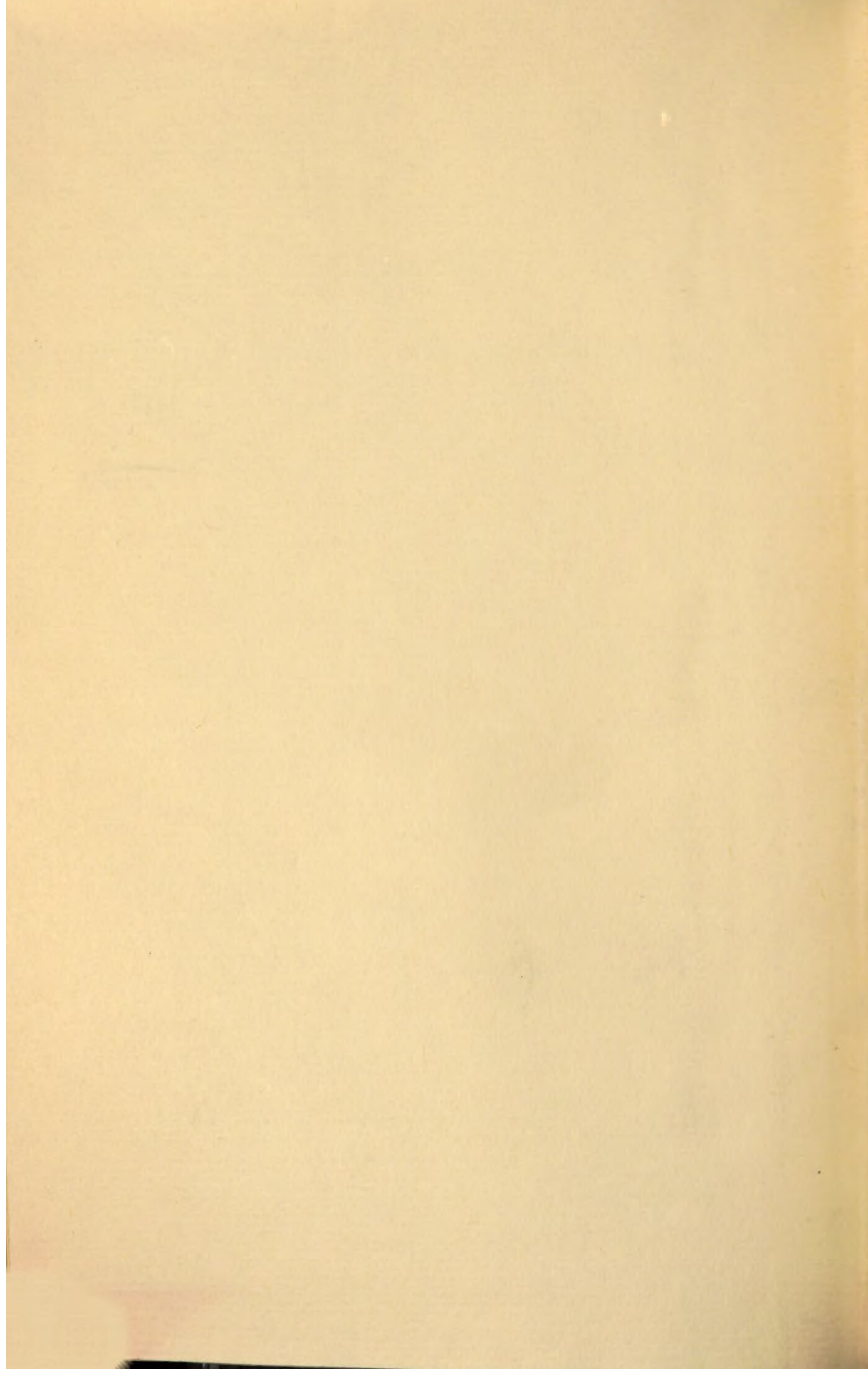
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